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86TH CONGRESS

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The Authoritative Reference on Congress

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STATISTICS ON THE 86th CONGRESS

A total of 98 Senators, including two from the new state of Alaska, will compose the Senate on Jan. 7. The House of Representatives will consist of 436, including one from Alaska. There will be 18 freshmen in the Senate and 82 newcomers in the House. The summaries below show the changes in party alignment of Senators and Representatives from the 85th Congress:

Senate

	Democrats	Republicans
PREVIOUS LINEUP	49	47
Not Up in 1958	36	26
At Stake in 1958	13	21
Elected in 1958	28	8
NEW LINEUP	64	34

Senate Changes

Sixteen of the Senate's 47 Republican members are not returning in 1959. Democrats are replacing 13, while three GOP Representatives will occupy the other seats. Democrats pick up two more seats from the new state of Alaska. On a regional basis, these are the shifts:

	85th Congress		86th Congress	
	Dems.	GOP	Dems.	GOP
East	5	19	10	14
South	24	2	24	2
Midwest	7	17	11	13
West	13	9	19*	5
Totals	49	47	64	34

*Includes Alaska

House

The lineup of the 435 House seats in the 85th Congress as compared to the lineup of the 436 (adding one for Alaska) House seats in the 86th Congress:

	Democrats	Republicans
Previous Lineup	235	200
New Lineup	283	153

House Changes

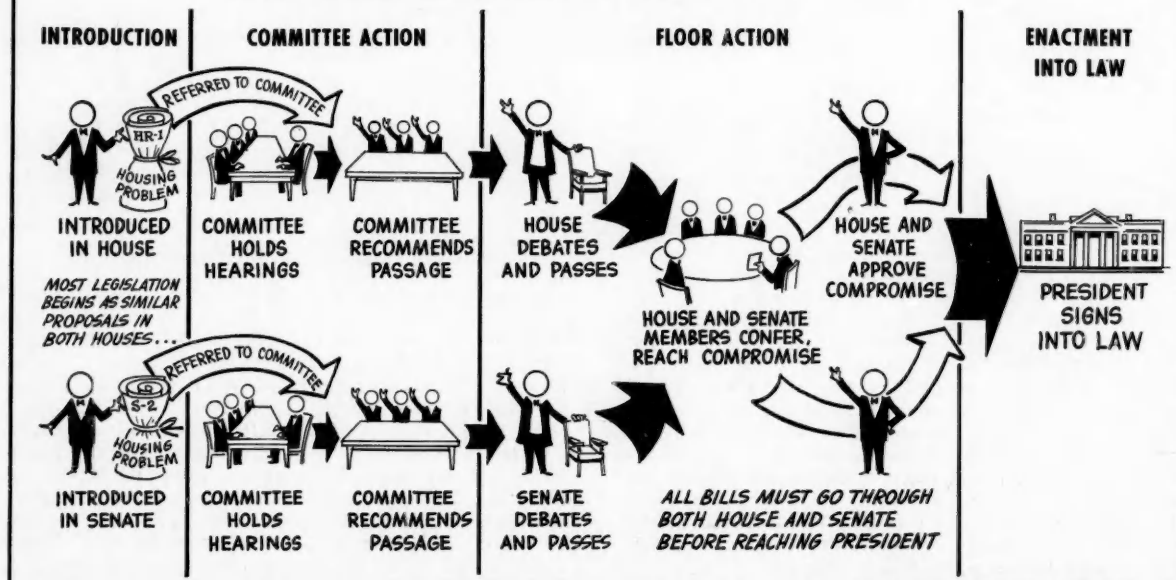
Of 82 new Members elected to the House, 48 are Democrats who captured seats held by Republicans in the 85th Congress, only one a Republican who won a Democratic seat. State Rep. Odin Langen (R) defeated Rep. Coya Knutson (D) in Minnesota's 9th District. One new Democrat, Rep. Ralph J. Rivers, was elected from Alaska. The remaining newcomers -- 14 Democrats, 18 Republicans -- replace members of their own party. On a regional basis, the makeup of the House has been changed as follows:

	85th Congress		86th Congress	
	Dems.	GOP	Dems.	GOP
East	53	76	72	57
South	110	10	111	9
Midwest	46	83	68	61
West	26	31	32*	26
Totals	235	200	283	153

*Includes Alaska

HOW A BILL BECOMES LAW

THIS GRAPHIC SHOWS THE MOST TYPICAL WAY IN WHICH PROPOSED LEGISLATION IS ENACTED INTO LAW. THERE ARE MORE COMPLICATED, AS WELL AS SIMPLER, ROUTES... AND MOST BILLS FALL BY THE WAYSIDE AND NEVER BECOME LAW.



86th Congress Organization

Caucuses, Debate to Deal with Rules, Leadership Conflicts

The public ritual through which both houses of the 86th Congress proceed when they convene at noon on Jan. 7 will mark their formal parliamentary organization. Before any legislation is considered, officers must be elected, and, in the House, rules adopted.

Most of those processes, however, will be accomplished before Congress convenes, in secret caucus held separately by the members of each party in each house. Even before that, the dominant party and the leadership it must assume were determined by the electorate on Nov. 4, 1958.

Thus, Democrats will win the first roll-call votes in the House and the Senate, traditionally cast for Speaker of the House and President pro tempore. Once the majority in each house has been established, the process of organization proceeds as pre-arranged in the party conferences.

In the caucuses or conferences, the parties determine who will ascend to the leadership of each party in each house, unofficial but powerful positions. The only intra-party leadership struggle involves the Senate Republicans. For details, see page 21.

Two other initial skirmishes concern rules. One will be confined mostly to the caucus of House Democrats; it relates to the power of the Rules Committee. It is discussed on page 23. The other, involving the limitation of debate in the Senate, will be the first order of business after formal election of officers. Background on this controversy will be found on page 13.

The Party Caucus

The various caucuses will be held as follows:

House Democrats -- 10:30 a.m., Jan. 6, House Chamber.
House Republicans -- 2:30 p.m., Jan. 6, House Chamber.
Senate Democrats -- 9:30 a.m., Jan. 7, Room 303, Senate Office Building.
Senate Republicans -- 9:30 a.m., Jan. 7, Room 335, Senate Office Building.

Although House Democrats are the only group formally to call their party session a "caucus," the term is applied generally to all such meetings. The word itself is supposed to have been derived from the name of a pre-Revolutionary War social club in Boston, Mass., and came to mean a secret preliminary meeting of the leaders of a political party or group. How the original club got its name, however, has never been determined although several theories have been advanced to explain it.

The caucus or conference is made up of all the members of each party in each house of Congress. The first meeting of the Democratic caucus in the House faces the problem of whether to permit Dale Alford (Ark.), elected to the House as an Independent, to participate in the party caucus. Alford calls himself a Democrat and won on a write-in candidacy. The House special Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures has recommended that Alford, victor over Rep. Brooks Hays (D) in the Arkansas Fifth District election, not be seated in Congress until a formal investigation of the election was completed. (1958 Weekly Report p. 1538, see page 37)

Since the Committee made no recommendation on the election of Republican Odin Langen to Rep. Coya Knutson's (D Minn.) Ninth District seat, the Republican conference in the House probably will not have a similar problem. Representative-elect Langen probably will take his seat in the Republican conference and in the House chamber automatically. (1958 Weekly Report p. 1538)

When Senate Republicans get together shortly before Congress convenes, they must decide who will lead their party in the Senate chamber. A fight has developed between the liberal and conservative wings of the party. Each wing will present to the conference its slate for the important posts of Senate Minority Leader and Senate Minority Whip.

The Senate Democrats' meeting will be much simpler since it will keep the same leaders -- Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Texas) and Majority Whip Mike Mansfield (Mont.). Senators highest in seniority traditionally are nominated by their parties to serve as President pro tempore. Carl Hayden (D Ariz.), with 31 years of service in the Senate, will be the Democrats' nominee for the post. Styles Bridges (R N.H.), who has 21 years to his credit, will be the Republican candidate. Hayden will serve as President pro tempore since the Democrats will have the majority necessary to elect him.

Party Control in the House

The power of the caucus of Members of the House as an instrument of party control has waxed and waned over the years. Until 1911, the growth of the power of the Speaker of the House was almost continuous until in that year, a parliamentary revolt against Speaker Joseph G. Cannon (R Ill.) changed the picture.

Under Cannon's regime as Speaker (1903-1911), the position was all-powerful. Cannon served as chairman of the Rules Committee whose members he appointed; he had the right of arbitrary recognition and the power of naming the standing committees and designating their chairmen. Following Cannon's deposition, however, a new political structure, based on the secret party meeting, was erected. The caucus once wielded strong power over the votes of all its members. But more recently the caucus has fallen into disuse as a means of rigid party control and the vote of the caucus no longer binds any member to vote a particular way.

Work of the Organization Caucus

The party caucuses of House Republicans and House Democrats are very similar, at least in procedure. Both adopt the rules of the House, insofar as they apply, at their first meetings. Then each elects its chairman and secretary for the incoming Congress. Chairman of the Democratic caucus for the 85th Congress was Melvin Price (Ill.), with Leonor Kretzer Sullivan (Mo.) as secretary. Charles B. Hoeven (Iowa) and Richard H. Poff (Va.) were chairman and secretary, respectively, of the House Republican conference in the 85th Congress. Organizational meetings are called by the current chairmen. Meetings during the session may be called either by the chairmen or a petition signed by 50 or more members of the party.

Following the election of chairmen and secretaries, each caucus gets down to the business of selecting its candidate for Speaker. In the case of the 86th Congress, this election will be a mere formality, for Sam Rayburn (D Texas) will be the Democrats' nominee and Joseph W. Martin Jr. (R Mass.) will be the candidate of the Republicans just as Rayburn has been since 1940 and Martin since 1939.

Next will come the selection of each party's floor leader and whip. Martin, as the Republican candidate for Speaker, is nominated to the post with the understanding he will become floor leader if he is not elected to the Speakership. Leslie C. Arends (Ill.) will be reelected as Republican Whip. With Rayburn assured of the Speakership, the Democrats must select both a Majority Leader and a Whip. They will pick John W. McCormack (Mass.) and Carl Albert (Okla.) as Majority Leader and Whip, respectively.

In the case of House Democrats, their next task will be to select their committee on committees -- that is, the Democratic members who will also serve on the Ways and Means Committee. (See page 12) Usually these posts have been determined prior to the caucus and the caucus need only give its approval to the list of prospective members. The House Republicans' committee on committees already is pre-selected on a regional basis.

Finally, the remaining nominations -- Clerk of the House, Sergeant at Arms, Doorkeeper, Postmaster and Chaplain -- are made by each party to be presented to the House when it convenes.

Party Control in the Senate

Although the parties in the Senate rely much less on the party conference to control their membership, their meetings are much the same as the House party sessions. The Senate conferences, however, tend to be less formal than in the House because of the difference in numbers. The primary purpose of the Senate conference is organization prior to the convening of the new Congress. The Democrats and Republicans tend to leave guidance of the party during the session to their steering and policy committees.

Unlike the House, the regular presiding officer of the Senate is not elected by the parties -- he is the Vice President of the United States. But both parties in their organizing sessions, nominate their candidates for President pro tempore. Next comes the selection of a floor leader for both parties. Once a party has decided upon its floor leader, his service is continuous from one Congress to another unless he should be defeated or resigns, or unless "something extraordinary" happens.

Democratic Floor Leader Johnson also serves as Chairman of the Democratic Conference. Sen. Thomas C.

Hennings Jr. (Mo.) serves as secretary to the Conference. Republican Party Whip Leverett Saltonstall (Mass.) is chairman of the Republican Conference with Milton R. Young (N.D.) as secretary. Meetings of the party conferences are called by their chairmen; no provision is made for a petition as in the House groups.

At their respective organizational meetings, the Republican and Democratic Senators vote to approve the membership of their policy committees, their steering committees and their committees on committees, all of which are designated by their party conference chairmen.

Parliamentary Organization

Following the political organization that takes place in secret party session, the open parliamentary organization of both houses of Congress occurs in a formal ritual.

In the House, the election of the Speaker and the announcement of floor leader selections by the party conference chairmen are followed by the selection of a slate of positions for the House staff. In the 85th Congress, the Democrats' winning slate:

Clerk of the House -- Ralph R. Roberts
Sergeant at Arms -- Zeake W. Johnson Jr.
Doorkeeper -- William M. Miller
Postmaster -- H.H. Morris

These men probably will be the Democrats' candidates for the same offices in 1959 and, because of the majority of Democrats, will be elected to continue in their posts.

In the 85th Congress, the Republicans' defeated slate:

Clerk of the House -- Lyle O. Snader
Sergeant at Arms -- William R. Bonsell
Doorkeeper -- Tom J. Kennamer
Postmaster -- Beecher Hess

But these men, except for Snader, remained in the Republicans' employ as Minority Sergeant at Arms, Doorkeeper, etc. Snader, who became a lobbyist for the Assn. of American Railroads, was replaced by Harry L. Brookshire who served as an executive assistant to the Postmaster General of the U.S. It is likely that these men will be their party's candidates for the 86th Congress.

The Senate, however, votes on a new slate of candidates for Secretary, Sergeant at Arms and Secretaries for the Majority and Minority only following a change of party control. Thus, after the election and swearing in of the President pro tempore, the Senate can get right down to the business of deciding whether it wants to change the filibuster rule.

The Senate staff officers are:

Secretary of the Senate -- Felton McLellan Johnston
Sergeant at Arms -- Joseph C. Duke
Secretary for the Majority -- Robert G. Baker
Secretary for the Minority -- J. Mark Trice

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SENATE MEMBERSHIP IN THE 86th CONGRESS

Democrats are CAPITALIZED
Senators elected in 1958 are underlined
*Freshman Senators

ALABAMA

LISTER HILL
JOHN J. SPARKMAN

ALASKA

E.L. (BOB) BARTLETT*
ERNEST GRUENING*

ARIZONA

CARL HAYDEN
Barry Goldwater

ARKANSAS

J.W. FULBRIGHT
JOHN L. MCCLELLAN

CALIFORNIA

CLAIR ENGLE*
Thomas H. Kuchel

COLORADO

JOHN A. CARROLL
Gordon Allott

CONNECTICUT

THOMAS J. DODD*
Prescott Bush

DELAWARE

John J. Williams
J. ALLEN FREAR JR.

FLORIDA

SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
GEORGE A. SMATHERS

GEORGIA

RICHARD B. RUSSELL
HERMAN E. TALMADGE

IDAHO

FRANK CHURCH
Henry C. Dworshak

ILLINOIS

PAUL H. DOUGLAS
Everett McKinley Dirksen

INDIANA

R. VANCE HARTKE*
Homer E. Capehart

IOWA

Bourke B. Hickenlooper
Thomas E. Martin

KANSAS

Frank Carlson
Andrew F. Schoeppel

KENTUCKY

John Sherman Cooper
Thruston B. Morton

LOUISIANA

ALLEN J. ELLENDER
RUSSELL B. LONG

MAINE

EDMUND S. MUSKIE*
Margaret Chase Smith

MARYLAND

J. Glenn Beall
John Marshall Butler

MASSACHUSETTS

JOHN F. KENNEDY
Leverett Saltonstall

MICHIGAN

PHILIP A. HART*
PAT McNAMARA

MINNESOTA

EUGENE J. McCARTHY*
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

MISSISSIPPI

JOHN STENNIS
JAMES O. EASTLAND

MISSOURI

STUART SYMINGTON
THOMAS C. HENNINGSS JR.

MONTANA

MIKE MANSFIELD
JAMES E. MURRAY

NEBRASKA

Roman L. Hruska
Carl T. Curtis

NEVADA

HOWARD W. CANNON*
ALAN BIBLE

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Styles Bridges
Norris Cotton

NEW JERSEY

HARRISON A. WILLIAMS*
Clifford P. Case

NEW MEXICO

DENNIS CHAVEZ
CLINTON P. ANDERSON

NEW YORK

Kenneth B. Keating*
Jacob K. Javits

NORTH CAROLINA

B. EVERETT JORDAN
SAM J. ERVIN JR.

NORTH DAKOTA

William Langer
Milton R. Young

OHIO

STEPHEN M. YOUNG*
FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OKLAHOMA

ROBERT S. KERR
A.S. MIKE MONRONEY

OREGON

WAYNE MORSE
RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

PENNSYLVANIA

Hugh Scott*
JOSEPH S. CLARK

RHODE ISLAND

JOHN O. PASTORE
THEODORE F. GREEN

SOUTH CAROLINA

OLIN D. JOHNSTON
STROM THURMOND

SOUTH DAKOTA

Francis Case
Karl E. Mundt

TENNESSEE

ALBERT GORE
ESTES KEFAUVER

TEXAS

RALPH W. YARBOROUGH
LYNDON B. JOHNSON

UTAH

FRANK E. MOSS*
Wallace F. Bennett

VERMONT

Winston L. Prouty*
George D. Aiken

VIRGINIA

HARRY FLOOD BYRD
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

WASHINGTON

HENRY M. JACKSON
WARREN G. MAGNUSON

WEST VIRGINIA

ROBERT C. BYRD*
JENNINGS RANDOLPH*

WISCONSIN

WILLIAM PROXMIRE
Alexander Wiley

WYOMING

GALE McGEE*
JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY

Senate Party Lineups

The following table shows the party lineup in the Senate resulting from each of the last four general elections:

	<u>1952</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1958</u>
Democrats	47	49	49	64
Republicans	48	47	47	34
Independents	1			

HOUSE MEMBERSHIP IN THE 86th CONGRESS . . .

Democrats are CAPITALIZED
*Freshman Representative

‡Elected as an independent write-in candidate

ALABAMA

1. FRANK W. BOYKIN
2. GEORGE M. GRANT
3. GEORGE W. ANDREWS
4. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
5. ALBERT RAINS
6. ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN JR.
7. CARL ELLIOTT
8. ROBERT E. JONES JR.
9. GEORGE HUDDLESTON JR.

ALASKA

AL RALPH J. RIVERS*

ARIZONA

1. John J. Rhodes
2. STEWART L. UDALL

ARKANSAS

1. E.C. GATHINGS
2. WILBUR D. MILLS
3. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
4. OREN HARRIS
5. DALE ALFORD**
6. W.F. NORRELL

CALIFORNIA

1. CLEMENT W. MILLER*
2. HAROLD T. JOHNSON*
3. JOHN E. MOSS
4. William S. Mailliard
5. JOHN F. SHELLEY
6. John F. Baldwin Jr.
7. JEFFERY COHELAN*
8. GEORGE P. MILLER
9. J. Arthur Younger
10. Charles S. Gubser
11. JOHN J. McFALL
12. B.F. SISK
13. Charles M. Teague
14. HARLAN HAGEN
15. Gordon L. McDonough
16. Donald L. Jackson
17. CECIL R. KING
18. Craig Hosmer
19. CHET HOLIFIELD
20. H. Allen Smith
21. Edgar W. Hiestand
22. Joe Holt
23. CLYDE DOYLE
24. Glenard P. Lipscomb
25. GEORGE A. KASEM*
26. JAMES ROOSEVELT
27. HARRY R. SHEPPARD
28. James B. Utt
29. D.S. SAUND
30. Bob Wilson

COLORADO

1. BYRON G. ROGERS
2. BYRON L. JOHNSON*
3. J. Edgar Chenoweth
4. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

CONNECTICUT

1. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO*
2. CHESTER W. BOWLES*
3. ROBERT N. GIAIMO*
4. DONALD J. IRWIN*
5. JOHN S. MONAGAN*
- AL FRANK KOWALSKI*

HOUSE LINEUP 219 Needed for Majority in 1959

	85th Congress	86th Congress
Democrats	235	283
Republicans	200	153

DELAWARE

AL HARRIS B. McDOWELL JR.*

FLORIDA

1. William C. Cramer
2. CHARLES E. BENNETT
3. ROBERT L.F. SIKES
4. DANTE B. FASCELL
5. A. SYDNEY HERLONG JR.
6. PAUL G. ROGERS
7. JAMES A. HALEY
8. D.R.(BILLY) MATTHEWS

GEORGIA

1. PRINCE H. PRESTON
2. J.L. PILCHER
3. E.L. FORRESTER
4. JOHN J. FLYNT JR.
5. JAMES C. DAVIS
6. CARL VINSON
7. ERWIN MITCHELL
8. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH
9. PHIL M. LANDRUM
10. PAUL BROWN

IDAHO

1. GRACIE PFOST
2. Hamer H. Budge

ILLINOIS

1. WILLIAM L. DAWSON
2. BARRATT O'HARA
3. WILLIAM T. MURPHY*
4. Edward J. Derwinski*
5. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI
6. THOMAS J. O'BRIEN
7. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
8. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI*
9. SIDNEY R. YATES
10. Harold R. Collier
11. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI*
12. CHARLES A. BOYLE
13. Marguerite Stitt Church
14. Elmer J. Hoffman*
15. Noah M. Mason
16. Leo E. Allen
17. Leslie C. Arends
18. Robert H. Michel
19. Robert B. Chipfield
20. Edna Oakes Simpson*
21. PETER F. MACK JR.
22. William L. Springer
23. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY*

24. MELVIN PRICE

25. KENNETH J. GRAY

INDIANA

1. RAY J. MADDEN
2. Charles A. Halleck
3. JOHN BRADEMAM*
4. E. Ross Adair
5. J. EDWARD ROUSH*
6. FRED WAMPLER*
7. William G. Bray
8. WINFIELD K. DENTON
9. EARL HOGAN*
10. RANDALL S. HARMON*
11. JOSEPH W. BARR*

IOWA

1. Fred Schwengel
2. LEONARD G. WOLF*
3. H. R. Gross
4. STEVEN V. CARTER*
5. NEAL E. SMITH*
6. MERWIN COAD
7. Ben F. Jensen
8. Charles B. Hoeven

KANSAS

1. William H. Avery
2. NEWELL A. GEORGE*
3. DENVER D. HARGIS*
4. Edward H. Rees
5. J. FLOYD BREEDING
6. Wint Smith

KENTUCKY

1. FRANK A. STUBBLEFIELD*
2. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
3. FRANK W. BURKE*
4. FRANK CHELF
5. BRENT SPENCE
6. JOHN C. WATTS
7. CARL D. PERKINS
8. Eugene Siler

LOUISIANA

1. F. EDWARD HEBERT
2. HALE BOGGS
3. EDWIN E. WILLIS
4. OVERTON BROOKS
5. OTTO E. PASSMAN
6. JAMES H. MORRISON
7. T. ASHTON THOMPSON
8. HAROLD B. McSWEEN*

MAINE

1. JAMES C. OLIVER*
2. FRANK M. COFFIN
3. Clifford G. McIntire

MARYLAND

1. THOMAS F. JOHNSON*
2. DANIEL B. BREWSTER*
3. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
4. GEORGE H. FALLON
5. RICHARD E. LANKFORD
6. JOHN R. FOLEY*
7. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

MASSACHUSETTS

1. Silvio O. Conte*
2. EDWARD P. BOLAND
3. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
4. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
5. Edith Nourse Rogers
6. William H. Bates
7. THOMAS J. LANE
8. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
9. Hastings Keith*
10. Laurence Curtis
11. THOMAS P. O'NEILL JR.
12. JOHN W. MCCORMACK
13. JAMES A. BURKE*
14. Joseph W. Martin Jr.

MICHIGAN

1. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
2. George Meader
3. August E. Johansen
4. Clare E. Hoffman
5. Gerald R. Ford Jr.
6. Charles E. Chamberlain
7. JAMES G. O'HARA*
8. Alvin M. Bentley
9. Robert P. Griffin
10. Elford A. Cederberg
11. Victor A. Knox
12. John B. Bennett
13. CHARLES C. DIGGS JR.
14. LOUIS C. RABAUT
15. JOHN D. DINGELL
16. JOHN LESINSKI JR.
17. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
18. William S. Broomfield

MINNESOTA

1. Albert H. Quie
2. Ancher Nelsen*
3. ROY W. WIER
4. JOSEPH E. KARTH*
5. Walter H. Judd
6. FRED MARSHALL
7. H. Carl Andersen
8. JOHN A. BLATNIK
9. Odin Langen*

MISSISSIPPI

1. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
2. JAMIE L. WHITTEN
3. FRANK E. SMITH
4. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
5. ARTHUR WINSTEAD
6. WILLIAM M. COLMER

... 283 DEMOCRATS, 153 REPUBLICANS ELECTED

Democrats are CAPITALIZED

*Freshman Representative

MISSOURI

1. FRANK M. KARSTEN
2. Thomas B. Curtis
3. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
4. GEORGE H. CHRISTOPHER
5. RICHARD BOLLING
6. W.R. HULL JR.
7. CHARLES H. BROWN
8. A.S.J. CARNAHAN
9. CLARENCE CANNON
10. PAUL C. JONES
11. MORGAN M. MOULDER

MONTANA

1. LEE METCALF
2. LEROY A. ANDERSON

NEBRASKA

1. Phil Weaver
2. Glenn Cunningham
3. LAWRENCE BROCK*
4. DONALD F. MCGINLEY*

NEVADA

AL WALTER S. BARING

NEW HAMPSHIRE

1. Chester E. Merrow
2. Perkins Bass

NEW JERSEY

1. William T. Cahill*
2. Milton W. Glenn
3. James C. Auchincloss
4. FRANK THOMPSON JR.
5. Peter Frelinghuysen Jr.
6. Florence P. Dwyer
7. William B. Widnall
8. Gordon Canfield
9. Frank C. Osmer Jr.
10. PETER W. RODINO Jr.
11. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
12. George M. Wallhauser*
13. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER*
14. DOMINICK V. DANIELS*

NEW MEXICO

AL JOSEPH M. MONTOYA
AL THOMAS G. MORRIS*

NEW YORK

1. Stuyvesant Wainwright
2. Steven B. Derounian
3. Frank J. Becker
4. Seymour Halpern*
5. Albert H. Bosch
6. LESTER HOLTZMAN
7. JAMES J. DELANEY
8. VICTOR L. ANFUSO
9. EUGENE J. KEOGH
10. EDNA F. KELLY
11. EMANUEL CELLER
12. Francis E. Dorn
13. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
14. JOHN J. ROONEY
15. John H. Ray
16. ADAM C. POWELL JR.
17. John V. Lindsay*
18. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO
19. LEONARD FARBSTEN

20. LUDWIG TELLER
21. HERBERT ZELENKO
22. JAMES C. HEALEY
23. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
24. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY
25. Paul A. Fino
26. Edwin B. Dooley
27. Robert R. Barry*
28. Katharine St. George
29. J. Ernest Wharton
30. LEO W. O'BRIEN
31. Dean P. Taylor
32. SAMUEL S. STRATTON*
33. Clarence E. Kilburn
34. Alexander Pirnie*
35. R. Walter Riehlman
36. John Taber
37. Howard W. Robison
38. Jessica McC. Weis*
39. Harold C. Ostertag
40. William E. Miller
41. THADDEUS J. DULSKI*
42. John R. Pillion
43. Daniel A. Reed

NORTH CAROLINA

1. HERBERT C. BONNER
2. L.H. FOUNTAIN
3. GRAHAM A. BARDEN
4. HAROLD D. COOLEY
5. RALPH J. SCOTT
6. CARL T. DURHAM
7. ALTON LENNON
8. A. PAUL KITCHIN
9. HUGH Q. ALEXANDER
10. Charles Raper Jonas
11. BASIL L. WHITENER
12. DAVID M. HALL*

NORTH DAKOTA

AL QUENTIN N. BURDICK*
AL Don L. Short*

OHIO

1. Gordon H. Scherer
2. William E. Hess
3. Paul F. Schenck
4. William M. McCulloch
5. Delbert L. Latta*
6. JAMES G. POLK
7. Clarence J. Brown
8. Jackson E. Betts
9. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
10. WALTER H. MOELLER*
11. ROBERT E. COOK*
12. Samuel L. Devine*
13. A.D. Baumhart Jr.
14. William H. Ayres
15. John E. Henderson
16. Frank T. Bow
17. ROBERT W. LEVERING*
18. WAYNE L. HAYS
19. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
20. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
21. CHARLES A. VANIK
22. Frances P. Bolton
23. William E. Minshall

OKLAHOMA

1. Page Belcher
2. ED EDMONDSON
3. CARL ALBERT

4. TOM STEED
5. JOHN JARMAN
6. TOBY MORRIS

OREGON

1. Walter Norblad
2. AL ULLMAN
3. EDITH GREEN
4. CHARLES O. PORTER

PENNSYLVANIA

1. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
2. KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN
3. JAMES A. BYRNE
4. ROBERT N.C. NIX
5. WILLIAM J. GREEN JR.
6. HERMAN TOLL*
7. William H. Milliken Jr.*
8. Willard S. Curtin
9. Paul B. Dague
10. STANLEY A. PROKOP*
11. DANIEL J. FLOOD
12. Ivor D. Fenton
13. John A. Lafore Jr.
14. GEORGE M. RHODES
15. FRANCIS E. WALTER
16. Walter M. Mumma
17. Alvin R. Bush
18. Richard M. Simpson
19. JAMES M. QUIGLEY*
20. James E. Van Zandt
21. JOHN H. DENT
22. John P. Saylor
23. Leon H. Gavin
24. Carroll D. Kearns
25. FRANK M. CLARK
26. THOMAS E. MORGAN
27. James G. Fulton
28. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD*
29. Robert J. Corbett
30. ELMER J. HOLLAND

RHODE ISLAND

1. AIME J. FORAND
2. JOHN E. FOGARTY

SOUTH CAROLINA

1. L. MENDEL RIVERS
2. JOHN J. RILEY
3. W.J. BRYAN DORN
4. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
5. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL
6. JOHN L. McMILLAN

SOUTH DAKOTA

1. GEORGE S. MCGOVERN
2. E.Y. Berry

TENNESSEE

1. B. Carroll Reece
2. Howard H. Baker
3. JAMES B. FRAZIER JR.
4. JOE L. EVINS
5. J. CARLTON LOSER
6. ROSS BASS
7. TOM MURRAY
8. ROBERT A. EVERETT
9. CLIFFORD DAVIS

TEXAS

1. WRIGHT PATMAN
2. JACK B. BROOKS

3. LINDLEY G. BECKWORTH
4. SAM RAYBURN
5. Bruce Alger
6. OLIN E. TEAGUE
7. JOHN DOWDY
8. ALBERT THOMAS
9. CLARK W. THOMPSON
10. HOMER THORNBERRY
11. W. R. POAGE
12. JIM WRIGHT
13. FRANK IKARD
14. JOHN YOUNG
15. JOE M. KILGORE
16. J.T. RUTHERFORD
17. OMAR BURLESON
18. WALTER ROGERS
19. GEORGE MAHON
20. PAUL J. KILDAY
21. O.C. FISHER
22. ROBERT R. CASEY*

UTAH

1. Henry Aldous Dixon
2. DAVID S. KING*

VERMONT

AL WILLIAM H. MEYER*

VIRGINIA

1. THOMAS N. DOWNING*
2. PORTER HARDY JR.
3. J. VAUGHAN GARY
4. WATKINS M. ABBITT
5. WILLIAM M. TUCK
6. Richard H. Hoff
7. BURR P. HARRISON
8. HOWARD W. SMITH
9. W. PAT JENNINGS
10. Joel T. Broyhill

WASHINGTON

1. Thomas M. Pelly
2. Jack Westland
3. Russell V. Mack
4. Catherine D. May*
5. Walt Horan
6. Thor C. Tollefson
7. DON MAGNUSON

WEST VIRGINIA

1. Arch A. Moore Jr.
2. HARLEY O. STAGGERS
3. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
4. KEN HECHLER *
5. ELIZABETH KEE
6. JOHN M. SLACK JR.*

WISCONSIN

1. GERALD T. FLYNN*
2. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER*
3. Gardner R. Withrow
4. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
5. HENRY S. REUSS
6. William K. Van Pelt
7. Melvin R. Laird
8. John W. Byrnes
9. LESTER R. JOHNSON
10. Alvin E. O'Konski

WYOMING

AL E. Keith Thomson

PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

Every man wants his name said correctly and no Member of Congress is an exception. One, Rep. F. Edward Hébert (D La.), even includes a guide for the exact pronunciation of his name in his Congressional Directory biography.

The following list includes a group of Members of the 86th Congress whose names raise pronunciation questions. The names are followed by a word or phrase illustrating the proper pronunciation.

Senators

Gordon Allott (R Colo.) -- as in ballot.
Clair Engle (D Calif.) -- as in dingle.
Ernest Gruening (D Alaska) -- greening.
Roman L. Hruska (R Neb.) -- rusk-a.
Thomas H. Kuchel (R Calif.) -- as in treacle.
Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D Wyo.) -- oh-ma-ha-nee.
Winston L. Prouty (R Vt.) -- as in sprouty.
Andrew F. Schoeppel (R Kan.) -- shep-el.

Representatives

Leslie C. Arends (R Ill.) -- errands.
James C. Auchincloss (R N.J.) -- awk-kin-klos.
William T. Cahill (R N.J.) -- kayhill.
Jeffery Cohelan (D Calif.) -- coe-hay-lan.
Silvio O. Conte (R Mass.) -- con-tee.
Peter Frelinghuysen Jr. (R N.J.) -- free-ling-hi-zen.
Robert N. Giaimo (D Conn.) -- gee-moe.
Denver D. Hargis (D Kan.) -- the g is hard.
F. Edward Hébert (D La.) -- A bear.
Charles B. Hoeven (R Iowa) -- as in cloven.
George A. Kasem (D Calif.) -- chasm.
Robert W. Kastenmeier (D Wis.) -- cast-in-mire.
Carroll D. Kearns (R Pa.) -- as in urns.
Eugene J. Keogh (D N.Y.) -- key-oh.
John A. Lafore Jr. (R Pa.) -- la-for.
William S. Mailliard (R Calif.) -- my yard.
Walter M. Mumma (R Pa.) -- moo-ma.
Alexander Pirnie (R N.Y.) -- purnee.
Gracie Pfost (D Idaho) -- post.
Roman C. Pucinski (D Ill.) -- pooh-chin-ski.
Albert H. Quie (R Minn.) -- kwee.
Louis C. Rabaut (D Mich.) -- ra-bow.
Gordon H. Scherer (R Ohio) -- shear.
Charles M. Teague (R Calif.) -- as in fatigue.
George M. Wallhauser (R N.J.) -- as intall trouser.
Jessica McC. Weis (R N.Y.) -- wice.

Names To Watch

There are two or more Members of Congress with the following last names: SENATE -- Byrd (Va. and W.Va.), Case (N.J., S.D.), Williams (Del., N.J.), Young (N.D., Ohio); HOUSE -- Andersen (Minn.) and Anderson (Mont.), Bass (N.H., Tenn.), Bennett (Fla., Mich.), Brooks (La., Texas), Brown (Ga., Mo., Ohio), Burke (Ky., Mass.), Byrne (Pa.) and Byrnes (Wis.), Curtis (Miss., Mo.), Davis (Ga., Tenn.), Dorn (N.Y., S.C.), Green (Ire., Pa.), Hoffman (Ill., Mich.), Johnson (Calif., Colo., Md., Wis.), Jones (Ala., Mo.), King (Calif., Utah), Mack (Ill., Wash.), Miller (2 Calif., 1 N.Y.), Morris (N.M., Okla.), O'Brien (Ill., N.Y.), O'Hara (Ill., Mich.), Reece (Tenn.) and Rees (Kan.), Rhodes (Ariz., Pa.), Rivers (Alaska, S.C.), Rogers (Colo., Fla., Mass., Texas), Simpson (Ill., Pa.), Smith (Calif., Iowa, Kan., Miss., Va.), Teague (Calif., Texas), Thompson (La., N.J., Texas) and Thomson (Wyo.).

The Nation's Governors

Following is a list of Governors of 49 states and the year in which the office is up for election.

Alaska elected its first Governor on Nov. 25. Democrats are in capital letters. The Governors elected in 1958 are underlined.

Alabama -- JOHN PATTERSON 1962
Alaska -- WILLIAM A. EGAN 1962
Arizona -- Paul Fannin 1960
Arkansas -- ORVAL FAUBUS 1960
California -- EDMUND G. BROWN 1962
Colorado -- STEPHEN L.R. McNICHOLS 1962

Connecticut -- ABRAHAM RIBICOFF 1962
Delaware -- J. Caleb Boggs 1960
Florida -- LEROY COLLINS 1960
Georgia -- ERNEST VANDIVER 1962
Idaho -- Robert E. Smylie 1962
Illinois -- William G. Stratton 1960

Indiana -- Harold W. Handley 1960
Iowa -- HERSCHEL C. LOVELESS 1960
Kansas -- GEORGE DOCKING 1960
Kentucky -- A.B. CHANDLER 1959
Louisiana -- EARL K. LONG 1959
Maine -- CLINTON A. CLAUSON 1962

Maryland -- J. MILLARD TAWES 1962
Massachusetts -- FOSTER FURCOLO 1960
Michigan -- G. MENNEN WILLIAMS 1960
Minnesota -- ORVILLE L. FREEMAN 1960
Mississippi -- J.P. COLEMAN 1959
Missouri -- JAMES T. BLAIR JR. 1960

Montana -- J. Hugo Aronson 1960
Nebraska -- RALPH G. BROOKS 1960
Nevada -- GRANT SAWYER 1962
New Hampshire -- Wesley Powell 1960
New Jersey -- ROBERT B. MEYNER 1961
New Mexico -- JOHN BURROUGHS 1960

New York -- Nelson A. Rockefeller 1962
North Carolina -- LUTHER B. HODGES 1960
North Dakota -- John E. Davis 1960
Ohio -- MICHAEL V. DISALLE 1962
Oklahoma -- J. HOWARD EDMONDSON 1962
Oregon -- Mark Hatfield 1962

Pennsylvania -- DAVID L. LAWRENCE 1962
Rhode Island -- Christopher Del Sesto 1960
South Carolina -- ERNEST F. HOLLINGS 1962
South Dakota -- RALPH HERSETH 1960
Tennessee -- BUFORD ELLINGTON 1962
Texas -- PRICE DANIEL 1960

Utah -- George D. Clyde 1960
Vermont -- Robert T. Stafford 1960
Virginia -- J. LINDSAY ALMOND 1961
Washington -- ALBERT D. ROSELLINI 1960
West Virginia -- Cecil H. Underwood 1960
Wisconsin -- GAYLORD A. NELSON 1960
Wyoming -- J.J. HICKEY 1962

AGES, PROFESSIONS, SENIORITY IN 86th CONGRESS

The 86th Congress convening Jan. 7 is like its predecessors, a diverse group. Following is Congressional Quarterly's summary of the ages, professions and unofficial seniority ranking of the Representatives and Senators. Individual Members' ages, professions and seniority rankings are on the following three pages. (For a comparison with the 85th Congress, see 1958 Almanac p. 32.)

Ages

The average lawmaker in the 86th Congress will be 52.7 years old -- more than a year younger than the average Member of the 85th Congress.

The average Senator is 57.1 years old, while the age of the average Representative is 51.7 years. The average age of the 18 freshman Senators is 50.2 years; average for the 82 newcomers to the House is only 44 years. The table below shows how the average ages compare with those of previous Congresses:

Congress	Senate	House	Both Chambers
86th	57.1	51.7	52.7
(1959-60)			
85th	57.9	52.96	53.8
(1957-58)			
84th	57.2	51.4	52.2
(1955-56)			
83rd	56.6	52	53
(1953-54)			
82nd	56.6	52	53
(1951-52)			

The oldest and youngest Senators in the 86th Congress are Democrats Theodore Francis Green (R I.), who is 91, and Frank Church (Idaho), who is 34. Oldest Republican Senator is Alexander Wiley (Wis.), 74; the youngest, Thomas H. Kuchel (Calif.), 48.

In the House, the youngest Representative is Daniel D. Rostenkowski (D Ill.), 30. Rep. George E. Shipley (D Ill.) is 31. The youngest Republican is Edward J. Derwinski (R Ill.), 32. Also 32 years old are Reps. Donald J. Irwin (D Conn.), John Brademas (D Ind.), Leonard G. Wolf (D Iowa), Harold B. McSweeney (D La.), James G. O'Hara (D Mich.) and John D. Dingell (D Mich.).

The oldest House Member is Brent Spence (D Ky.), 84. The oldest Republicans, both 83, are Clare E. Hoffman (R Mich.) and Daniel A. Reed (R N.Y.).

Professions

Attorneys again predominate in the 86th Congress, accounting for more than one-half the membership. Nearly one-third of the Members have backgrounds in business or banking.

Almost 98 percent of the Senators and 86.5 percent of the Representatives have had prior experience in politics or civic service. Sixty-two percent of the Senate and 59 percent of the House are veterans of the armed forces.

Some Members have engaged in more than one profession which explains why the percentages in the following breakdown total more than 100. A few, such as housewives, fit into no professional category. Two Representatives are ministers.

	85th Congress		86th Congress	
	Senate	House	Senate	House
Agriculture	21%	11%	17%	10%
Business or				
Banking	29	30	29	29
Journalism	9	7	12	8
Law	61	54	62	52
Medicine,				
Engineering	4	2	3	1
Teaching	18	11	16	9

Seniority

Congressional Quarterly's seniority rankings are unofficial and represent a Member's standing within his own party. There are no written rules in Congress for determining seniority, but each party computes the status of its Members for the purpose of making committee assignments, allotting office space, etc. CQ's rankings are based on the methods used by the two parties.

A Member's rank is determined according to the date he takes the oath of office or, in the case of Members appointed or elected to fill a vacancy, by the date of the appointment or election. When two or more Members were sworn in on the same day, those with prior political experience take precedence. In the Senate, prior political experience consists of earlier service in the Senate, service in the House and service as a state governor, in that order. In the House, prior experience consists of previous House service only; ex-Senators and ex-governors are accorded no precedence.

In the 86th Congress, both of Alaska's new Senators, Ernest Gruening (D) and E.L. (Bob) Bartlett (D), will be credited with prior political experience, even though it was earned when Alaska was still a territory. Gruening, who served 14 years as territorial governor, will be given seniority over Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D Maine), who put in four years as a state governor. Bartlett's seven terms (1944-57) as Alaska's non-voting territorial delegate will give him precedence over other new Senators who served fewer terms as full-fledged Representatives.

The top ranking Democrat in the House is still Speaker Sam Rayburn (Texas) who has been elected to 23 consecutive terms beginning in 1913. The senior Republican is Rep. Daniel A. Reed (N.Y.), whose service goes back to 1919. Leading the Democrats in the Senate is Carl Hayden (Ariz.) who has served continuously since 1927. Styles Bridges (R N.H.), who has been a Senator since 1937, tops Republican Senators.

86th Congress - House: Tabulation of Ages . . .

The chart on this and the following page lists the membership of the House for the 86th Congress.

Column 1 shows the age of each Representative as of Jan. 1, 1959; Column 10 shows the Representative's unofficial seniority within his party based both on years served and prior political experience.

HEADNOTES:

Women

† Approximate age.

@ Ministers

Check marks (✓) in Columns 2 through 9 indicate prior profession(s) of each Representative, and whether he is a veteran. See Summary and Key on the next page for description of each numbered column and the number of persons with experience in an indicated profession, with a breakdown by party.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ALABAMA																																
3 Andrews	52									✓ 24		4 Flynt	44									✓ 59		7 Thompson	42							✓ 53
1 Boykin	73	✓	✓							11		3 Forrester	62									✓ 46		3 Willis	54							✓ 42
7 Elliott	45									✓ 42		9 Landrum	49									✓ 53		MAINE								
2 Grant	61									✓ 13		7 Mitchell	34									✓ 75		2 Coffin	39							✓ 72
9 Huddleston	38									✓ 63		2 Pilcher	60	✓								✓ 54		1 Oliver	63							✓ 79
8 Jones	46									✓ 33		1 Preston	50									✓ 32		3 McIntire	50	✓						✓ 32
5 Rains	56									✓ 27		6 Vinson	75									2		MARYLAND								
4 Roberts	46									✓ 46		IDAHO										✓ 53		2 Brewster	35	✓						✓ 82
6 Selden	37									✓ 53		1 Post #	52									✓ 31		4 Fallon	56	✓						✓ 27
												2 Budge	48											6 Foley	41							✓ 82
ALASKA												ILLINOIS												7 Friedel	60							✓ 53
AL Rivers	55									82		25 Gray	34									✓ 63		3 Garmatz	55							✓ 33
ARIZONA												21 Mack	42									✓ 42		1 Johnson	49							✓ 82
2 Udall	38									✓ 63		24 Price	53									✓ 27		5 Lankford	44							✓ 63
1 Rhodes	42									✓ 35		23 Shipley	31									82		MASSACHUSETTS								
ARKANSAS												16 Allen	60									5		2 Boland	47							✓ 53
5 Alford	42									M ✓ 82		17 Arends	63	✓								✓ 6		13 Burke	48							✓ 82
1 Gathings	55									14		19 Chipfield	59									✓ 10		4 Donohue	57							✓ 32
4 Harris	55									18		14 Hoffman	59	✓								✓ 43		7 Lane	60							✓ 20
2 Mills	49									✓ 14		15 Mason	76									✓ 8		8 Macdonald	41							✓ 63
6 Norrell	62									✓ 14		18 Michel	35									✓ 39		12 McCormack	67							✓ 4
3 Trimble	64									✓ 27		20 Simpson #	67									✓ 43		11 O'Neill	46							✓ 53
CALIFORNIA												22 Springer	49									✓ 31		3 Philbin	60							✓ 23
7 Cohelan	44									82		Chicago-Cook County												6 Bates	41							✓ 27
14 Hagen	44									✓ 53		12 Boyle	51									✓ 63		1 Conte	37							✓ 43
2 Johnson	51									82		1 Dawson	72									✓ 23		10 Curtis	65							✓ 35
11 McFall	40									✓ 72		5 Kluczynski	62									✓ 46		9 Keith	43							✓ 43
1 Miller (C.W.)	42									✓ 82		7 Libonati	58									✓ 74		14 Martin	74							✓ 3
8 Miller (G.P.)	67									✓ 27		3 Murphy	59									✓ 82		5 Rogers #	77							✓ 4
3 Moss	45									✓ 53		6 O'Brien	80									✓ 22		MICHIGAN								
29 Sound	59									✓ 72		2 O'Hara	76									✓ 52		7 O'Hara	32							✓ 82
5 Shelley	53									✓ 43		11 Pucinski	39									✓ 82		12 Bennett	54							✓ 19
27 Sheppard	73									12		8 Rostenkowski	30									✓ 82		8 Bentley	40							✓ 35
12 Sisk	48									✓ 63		9 Yates	49									✓ 42		18 Broomfield	36							✓ 39
6 Baldwin	43									✓ 38		13 Church #	66									✓ 31		10 Cederberg	40							✓ 35
10 Gubser	42									✓ 35		10 Collier	43									✓ 39		6 Chamberlain	41							✓ 39
4 Mailliard	41									✓ 35		4 Derwinski	32									✓ 43		5 Ford	45							✓ 24
13 Teague	49									✓ 38		INDIANA												9 Griffin	35							✓ 39
28 Utt	59									✓ 35		11 Barr	40									✓ 82		4 Hoffman	83							✓ 6
30 Wilson	42									✓ 35		3 Brademas	32									✓ 82		3 Jobansen	53							✓ 38
9 Younger	65									✓ 35		8 Denton	62									✓ 61		11 Knox	59							✓ 35
Los Angeles County												10 Harmon	55									✓ 82		2 Meader	51							✓ 31
23 Doyle	71									41		9 Hogan	38									✓ 82		Detroit-Wayne County								
19 Holifield	55									✓ 23		1 Madden	66									✓ 23		13 Diggs	36							✓ 63
25 Kasem	39									✓ 82		5 Roush	38									✓ 82		15 Dingell	32							✓ 65
17 King	60									✓ 21		6 Wampler	46									✓ 82		17 Griffiths #	46							✓ 63
26 Roosevelt	51									✓ 63		4 Adair	51									✓ 31		16 Lesinski	44							✓ 46
21 Hiestand	70									✓ 35		7 Bray	55									✓ 31		1 Machrowicz	59							✓ 46
22 Holt	34									✓ 35		2 Halleck	58									✓ 7		14 Rabaut	72							✓ 39
18 Hosmer	43									✓ 35		IOWA												MINNESOTA								
16 Jackson	48									✓ 20		4 Carter	43									✓ 82		8 Blatnik	47							✓ 32
24 Lipscomb	44									✓ 36		6 Coad	34									✓ 72		4 Karth	36							✓ 82
15 McDonough	63									✓ 16		5 Smith	38									✓ 82		6 Marshall	52							✓ 42
20 Smith	49									✓ 39		2 Wolf	32									✓ 82		3 Wier	70							✓ 42
COLORADO												3 Gross	59									✓ 24		7 Andersen	61							✓ 10
4 Aspinall	62	✓								✓ 42		8 Hoeven	63									✓ 14		1 Quie	34							✓ 42
2 Johnson	40									✓ 82		7 Jensen	66									✓ 10		5 Judd	60							✓ 14
1 Rogers	58									✓ 46		1 Schwenkel	51									✓ 38		9 Langen	45	✓						✓ 43
3 Chenoweth	61									✓ 30		KANSAS												2 Nelsen	54							
CONNECTICUT												5 Breeding	57	✓								✓ 72		MISSISSIPPI								
2 Bowles	57									✓ 81		2 George	54									✓ 82		1 Abernethy	55							✓ 23
1 Daddario	40									✓ 82		3 Hargis	37						</													

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4 |

Week ending Jan. 2, 1959 -- PAGE 9

86th Congress - Senate: Ages, Professions, Veteran Status

This chart lists the membership of the Senate for the 86th Congress.

Column 1 shows the age of each Senator as of Jan. 1, 1959; Column 10 shows the Senator's unofficial seniority within his party based both on years served and prior political experience.

Summary and Key

Col. No.	Description	GOP	DEM	Totals
1.	Age (average)	59.5	55.9	57.1
2.	Agriculture	10	7	17
3.	Business/Banking	14	14	28
4.	Civic Service/Politics	33	62	95
5.	Journalism	3	9	12
6.	Law	18	43	61
7.	Teaching	3	13	16
8.	E(ng.), M(ed.)	0	3*	3
9.	Veteran	21	40	61
10.	Party Seniority Rank			

*Includes 2 E(ngineers), 1 M(edical).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10										1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10										1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10									
ALABAMA										MAINE										OKLAHOMA									
Hill	64	✓						✓	8	Muskie	44		✓		✓	54				Kerr	62	✓	✓		✓	22			
Sparkman	59	✓					✓	✓	16	Smith	61	✓	✓	✓		11				Monroney	56	✓	✓	✓		✓	25		
ALASKA										MARYLAND										OREGON									
Bartlett	54	✓	✓						48	Beall	64	✓	✓			21				Morse	58	✓		✓	✓	*37			
Gruening	71	✓	✓						53	Butler	61	✓	✓			18				Neuberger	46	✓	✓			✓	36		
ARIZONA										MASSACHUSETTS										PENNSYLVANIA									
Hayden	81	✓	✓						1	Kennedy	41	✓	✓			31				Clark	57	✓		✓		✓	41		
Goldwater	49	✓	✓						22	Saltonstall	66	✓	✓			7				Scott	58	✓		✓		✓	32		
ARKANSAS										MICHIGAN										RHODE ISLAND									
Fulbright	53	✓						✓	13	Hart	46	✓	✓			55				Green	91	✓	✓		✓	✓	6		
McClellan	62	✓						✓	10	McNamara	64	✓	✓			36				Pastore	51	✓	✓		✓	✓	24		
CALIFORNIA										MINNESOTA										SOUTH CAROLINA									
Engle	47	✓						✓	47	Humphrey	47	✓	✓			23				Johnston	62	✓		✓		✓	12		
Kuchel	48	✓						✓	20	McCarthy	42	✓	✓			49				Thurmond	56	✓		✓		✓	38		
COLORADO										MISSISSIPPI										SOUTH DAKOTA									
Carroll	57	✓	✓					✓	39	Eastland	54	✓	✓			9				Case	62	✓	✓	✓		✓	16		
Allott	51	✓						✓	28	Stennis	57	✓	✓			17				Mundt	58	✓	✓	✓		✓	10		
CONNECTICUT										MISSOURI										TENNESSEE									
Dodd	51	✓						✓	51	Hennings	55	✓	✓			26				Gore	51	✓		✓	✓	✓	28		
Bush	63	✓	✓					✓	19	Symington	57	✓	✓			32				Kefauver	55	✓		✓		✓	20		
DELAWARE										MONTANA										TEXAS									
Frear	55	✓	✓	✓				✓	23	Mansfield	55	✓	✓			30				Johnson	50	✓		✓	✓	✓	19		
Williams	54	✓	✓	✓					9	Murray	82	✓	✓			4				Yarborough	55	✓		✓	✓	✓	42		
FLORIDA										NEBRASKA										UTAH									
Holland	66	✓						✓	14	Curtis	53	✓	✓			25				Moss	48	✓	✓		✓	✓	55		
Smathers	45	✓						✓	27	Hruska	54	✓	✓			24				Bennett	60	✓	✓		✓	✓	17		
GEORGIA										NEVADA										VERMONT									
Russell	61	✓	✓					✓	2	Bible	49	✓	✓			35				Aiken	66	✓	✓	✓			4		
Talmadge	45	✓	✓	✓				✓	40	Cannon	46	✓	✓			55				Prouty	52	✓	✓				34		
IDAHO										NEW HAMPSHIRE										VIRGINIA									
Church	34	✓						✓	41	Bridges	60	✓	✓	✓		1				Byrd	71	✓	✓	✓		✓	3		
Dworsbak	64	✓	✓					✓	13	Cotton	58	✓	✓	✓		23				Robertson	71	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	15		
ILLINOIS										NEW JERSEY										WASHINGTON									
Douglas	66	✓						✓	23	Williams	39	✓	✓			52				Jackson	46	✓		✓	✓	✓	29		
Dirksen	62	✓						✓	15	Case	54	✓	✓			27				Magnuson	53	✓		✓	✓	✓	11		
INDIANA										NEW MEXICO										WEST VIRGINIA									
Hartke	40	✓	✓					✓	55	Anderson	63	✓	✓	✓		21				Byrd	40	✓	✓				46		
Capehart	61	✓	✓	✓				✓	6	Chavez	70	✓	✓			5				Randolph	56	✓	✓	✓			45		
IOWA										NEW YORK										WISCONSIN									
Hickenlooper	62	✓						✓	5	Javits	54	✓	✓			31				Proxmire	43	✓	✓	✓		✓	43		
Martin	65	✓	✓					✓	26	Keating	58	✓	✓			33				Wiley	74	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	2		
KANSAS										NORTH CAROLINA										WYOMING									
Carlson	65	✓	✓					✓	14	Ervin	62	✓	✓			33				McGee	43	✓		✓	✓		55		
Schoeppel	64	✓						✓	12	Jordan	62	✓	✓			44				O'Mahoney	74	✓	✓		✓		34		
KENTUCKY										NORTH DAKOTA																			
Cooper	57	✓						✓	29	Langer	72	✓	✓	✓		3													
Morton	51	✓	✓					✓	30	Young	61	✓	✓			8													
LOUISIANA										OHIO																			
Ellender	67	✓	✓					✓	7	Lausche	63	✓	✓			40													
Long	40	✓	✓					✓	18	Young	69	✓	✓			50													

*Seniority starts from Feb. 17, 1955, when Morse officially became a Democrat.

Democrats in this type; Republicans in Italics

CHAIRMEN, RANKING MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES

Congressional custom dictates that the Member with the most previous service on a committee becomes its chairman when his party commands a majority in the chamber as a whole. The ratio of Democrats to Republicans on each committee is fixed at the beginning of the session by the party leadership. The Democrats retained control of both chambers of Congress in the Nov. 4 Congressional election and, consequently, will organize the committees and appoint the committee chairmen in 1959. Following is the list of probable committee chairmen (in capitals) and ranking minority members for the 86th Congress, with their ages as of Jan. 1, 1959. (Note: Members of Congress who are high ranking on several committees sometimes voluntarily relinquish seniority rights on all but one committee.)

House Committees

Agriculture -- HAROLD D. COOLEY (D N.C.), 61; Charles B. Hoeven (R Iowa), 63.
Appropriations -- CLARENCE CANNON (D Mo.), 79; John Taber (R N.Y.), 77.
Armed Services -- CARL VINSON (D Ga.), 75; Leslie C. Arends (R Ill.), 63.
Banking and Currency -- BRENT SPENCE (D Ky.), 84; Clarence E. Kilburn (R N.Y.), 65.
District of Columbia -- JOHN L. McMILLAN (D S.C.), 60; James C. Auchincloss (R N.J.), 73.
Education and Labor -- GRAHAM A. BARDEN (D N.C.), 62; Carroll D. Kearns (R Pa.), 58.
Foreign Affairs -- THOMAS E. MORGAN (D Pa.), 52; Robert B. Chipperfield (R Ill.), 59.
Government Operations -- WILLIAM L. DAWSON (D Ill.), 72; Clare E. Hoffman (R Mich.), 83.
House Administration -- OMAR BURLESON (D Texas), 52; Paul F. Schenck (R Ohio), 59.
Interior and Insular Affairs -- WAYNE N. ASPINALL (D Colo.), 62; John P. Saylor (R Pa.), 50.
Interstate and Foreign Commerce -- OREN HARRIS (D Ark.), 55; John B. Bennett (R Mich.), 54.
Judiciary -- EMANUEL CELLER (D N.Y.), 70; William M. McCulloch (R Ohio), 57.
Merchant Marine and Fisheries -- HERBERT C. BONNER (D N.C.), 67; Thor C. Tollefson (R Wash.), 57.
Post Office and Civil Service -- TOM MURRAY (D Tenn.), 64; Edward H. Rees (R Kan.), 72.
Public Works -- CHARLES A. BUCKLEY (D N.Y.), 68; James C. Auchincloss (R N.J.), 73.
Rules -- HOWARD W. SMITH (D Va.), 75; Leo E. Allen (R Ill.), 60.
Un-American Activities -- FRANCIS E. WALTER (D Pa.), 64; Donald L. Jackson (R Calif.), 48.
Veterans' Affairs -- OLIN E. TEAGUE (D Texas), 48; Edith Nourse Rogers (R Mass.), 77.
Ways and Means -- WILBUR D. MILLS (D Ark.), 47; Daniel A. Reed (R N.Y.), 83.
Select Small Business -- WRIGHT PATMAN (D Texas), 65; R. Walter Riehlman (R N.Y.), 58.
Science and Astronautics -- JOHN W. MCCORMACK (D Mass.), 67; Joseph W. Martin Jr. (R Mass.), 74.

Senate Committees

Agriculture and Forestry -- ALLEN J. ELLENDER (D La.), 67; George D. Aiken (R Vt.), 66.
Appropriations -- CARL HAYDEN (D Ariz.), 81; Styles Bridges (R N.H.), 60.

Armed Services -- RICHARD B. RUSSELL (D Ga.), 61; Leverett Saltonstall (R Mass.), 66. (Styles Bridges actually is the highest ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee; however, because of his position on the Appropriations Committee, Bridges in the past has waived his seniority on the Armed Services Committee in favor of Saltonstall and is expected to do so again when Congress is organized in 1959.)

Banking and Currency -- J.W. FULBRIGHT (D Ark.), 53; Homer E. Capehart (R Ind.), 61.

District of Columbia -- ALAN BIBLE (D Nev.), 49; J. Glenn Beall (R Md.), 64.

Finance -- HARRY FLOOD BYRD (D Va.), 71; John J. Williams (R Del.), 54.

Foreign Relations -- THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN (D R.I.), 91; Alexander Wiley (R Wis.), 74.

Government Operations -- JOHN L. MCCLELLAN (D Ark.), 62; Karl E. Mundt (R S.D.), 58.

Interior and Insular Affairs -- JAMES E. MURRAY (D Mont.), 82; Henry C. Dworshak (R Idaho), 64.

Interstate and Foreign Commerce -- WARREN G. MAGNUSON (D Wash.), 53; Andrew F. Schoepel (R Kan.), 64.

Judiciary -- JAMES O. EASTLAND (D Miss.), 54; Alexander Wiley (R Wis.), 74.

Labor and Public Welfare -- LISTER HILL (D Ala.), 64; Barry Goldwater (R Ariz.), 50.

Post Office and Civil Service -- OLIN D. JOHNSTON (D S.C.), 62; Frank Carlson (R Kan.), 65.

Public Works -- DENNIS CHAVEZ (D N.M.), 70; Francis Case (R S.D.), 62.

Rules and Administration -- THOMAS C. HENNINGS JR. (D Mo.), 55; Carl T. Curtis (R Neb.), 53.

Select Small Business -- JOHN J. SPARKMAN (D Ala.), 59; Leverett Saltonstall (R Mass.), 66.

Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field -- JOHN L. MCCLELLAN (D Ark.), 62; Karl E. Mundt (R S.D.), 58.

Aeronautical and Space Sciences -- LYNDON B. JOHNSON (D Texas), 50; Styles Bridges (R N.H.), 60.

Joint Committees

Atomic Energy -- SEN. CLINTON P. ANDERSON (D N.M.), 63, chairman; Rep. Carl T. Durham (D N.C.), 66, vice chairman; Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R Iowa), 62; ranking minority Senate member; Rep. James E. Van Zandt (R Pa.), 60, ranking minority House member.

Defense Production -- REP. PAUL BROWN (D Ga.), 78, chairman; Sen. A. Willis Robertson (D Va.), 71, vice chairman; Rep. Gordon L. McDonough (R Calif.), 63, ranking minority House member; Sen. Homer E. Capehart (R Ind.), 61, ranking minority Senate member.

Economic -- SEN. PAUL H. DOUGLAS (D Ill.), 66, chairman; Rep. Wright Patman (D Texas), 65, vice chairman; all minority Senate members retired or defeated; Rep. Thomas E. Curtis (R Mo.), 47, ranking minority House member.

Internal Revenue Taxation -- REP. WILBUR D. MILLS (D Ark.), 47, chairman; Sen. Harry Flood Byrd (D Va.), 71, vice chairman; Rep. Daniel A. Reed (R N.Y.), 83, ranking minority House member; Sen. John J. Williams (R Del.), 54, ranking minority Senate member.

RULES, TRADITIONS GOVERNING COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

Drastic changes in the party composition of the House and Senate standing committees may be necessary in the 86th Congress in order to assure attractive committee assignments for all the new Democratic Members. With margins of almost 2-1 in each chamber (Senate: D 64, R 34; House: D 283, R 153), Democrats may seek to boost their numerical ratio on the committees. In the 85th Congress, most committees had nearly an equal number of Democrats and Republicans, reflecting the almost 50-50 split in each chamber (Senate: D 49, R 47; House: D 235, R 200).

Also under consideration, as a means of providing more committee assignments for Democrats, are two proposals to split House committees: Chairman Francis E. Walter (D Pa.) of the Un-American Activities Committee has suggested that immigration matters be transferred from the Judiciary Committee to the Un-American Activities Committee, with the latter enlarged from its current complement of nine members, and recreated as a Committee on Internal Security and Immigration and a proposal has been advanced to break the Education and Labor Committee into two separate committees, one to handle education, the other labor matters.

Following is the procedure by which the number, ratio and membership of the standing committees of Congress are determined.

- Each chamber has the power at any time to create or abolish its standing committees, remove and appoint members and chairmen of committees or reduce or enlarge the number of members of each committee. These changes can be made by a simple resolution, subject to adoption by a majority vote, of the chamber involved. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (PL 601, 79th Congress) fixed a specific number of members for each committee in each chamber, but both the Senate and House have changed these figures several times since 1946 by simple resolution. PL 601 also reduced the number of Senate standing committees to 15 and House standing committees to 19. In 1958, the Senate created a 16th standing committee, the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee, and the House, created a 20th standing committee, the Science and Astronautics Committee.

- PL 601 specified that no Senator could be appointed to more than two standing committees, with this exception: up to 14 members of the majority party and three members of the minority party would be permitted three standing committee assignments, provided one of those assignments was on the District of Columbia, Government Operations or Post Office and Civil Service Committees. This rule still is in effect. In addition, in creating the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee, the Senate provided that membership on it would not exclude a Senator from two other standing committee assignments.

- PL 601 provided that no Representative might be a member of more than one House committee; this rule, however, has been dropped.

In addition to these formal rules -- always subject to change by a vote of either body -- both parties in each chamber have developed traditions dealing with committee assignments. In practice, this is how committee assignments are given:

- Since either chamber can increase or decrease the number of members on each committee by a majority vote, agreement is reached, in advance of the session, between Democratic and Republican leadership as to the total

membership of each committee and the ratio of one party to another. When the session opens, each chamber adopts a resolution specifying the total membership of each of its committee. Using the pre-agreed party ratio as a basis, each party meets separately and works out its committee assignment list.

- **Senate** -- The Democratic committee roster is drawn up by the Democratic Committee on Committees, which is appointed by the Democratic Floor Leader (Lyndon B. Johnson, Texas). The Republican committee roster is drawn up by the Republican Committee on Committees, which is appointed by the chairman of the Senate Republican Conference (Leverett Saltonstall, Mass.). The floor leaders of the respective parties then offer resolutions, which are adopted almost automatically, making the appointments suggested by the Committees on Committees and, incidentally, formalizing the party ratios previously agreed on by the leaders. In recommending appointments, Democrats have adhered to an informal rule instituted by Johnson when he became floor leader in 1953 -- every Democratic Senator is to receive one major committee assignment. Republicans generally have adhered to an informal rule that no Senator is to serve on the Appropriations and Finance Committees simultaneously. Through the 85th Congress, the Senate Republicans had not adopted Johnson's rule giving a major committee assignment to every Republican Senator.

- **House** -- As in the Senate, the total membership of each committee and the party ratios within it are agreed on informally by the two parties in advance of the session. When the session opens, the Democrats' first step is to nominate their candidates for members of the Ways and Means Committee; these members constitute the Democratic Committee on Committees and make the committee assignments for the other standing committees. A resolution incorporating their selections is adopted by the House. The Republican Committee on Committees, made up of one Representative from each state having at least one Republican in its House delegation, prepares a roster of committee nominations, which is submitted for approval to the House Republican Policy Committee. The roster then is presented to the House in a simple resolution.

Informally, the House Democrats have set up a list of committee priorities, followed in the past, for guiding the Committee on Committees. Under the formula, any Democrat belonging to either the Appropriations, Ways and Means or Rules Committee may not be appointed to any other standing committee. In addition, the rest of the standing committees are broken into two groups: a group of 10 and a group of six. A Member may receive appointment to one committee in the group of 10 and one in the group of six, but not to two committees within the same group. The group of 10: Agriculture, Judiciary, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Armed Services, Education and Labor, Banking and Currency, Public Works, Veterans Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Post Office and Civil Service. The group of six: District of Columbia, Government Operations, House Administration, Interior and Insular Affairs, Merchant Marine and Fisheries and Un-American Activities. Science and Astronautics has not yet been classified.

House Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin Jr.'s (R Mass.) office Dec. 29, 1958, told CQ the House Republican Committee on Committees had not in the past followed any firm rule on committee assignments other than the traditional seniority rule.

WILL THE SENATE CHANGE RULE 22?

The whack-whack of the gavel opening the Senate Jan. 7 will mark the start of the battle over the filibuster rule.

The issue of whether Rule 22 should be changed pits conservatives against liberals. Members of both parties are found in each camp.

The basic question is whether a majority of the Senate instead of two-thirds of it, should be allowed to prevent a bill from being talked to death.

Conservatives want to keep the rule the way it is. Liberals want it changed. The outcome will have a lot to do with what kind of legislation comes out of the 86th Congress, especially in the civil rights field.

This fact sheet explains the issue and gives the stands of most of the Senators.

Rule 22

This, with the exception of the matter in parenthesis, is the heart of Rule 22 -- the so-called filibuster rule: "Notwithstanding the provisions of rule III or rule VI (which have to do with matters getting special priority) or any other rule of the Senate, except Subsection 3 of Rule XXII, at any time a motion signed by 16 Senators, to bring to a close the debate upon any measure, motion, or other matter pending before the Senate, or the unfinished business, is presented to the Senate, the Presiding Officer shall at once state the motion to the Senate, and one hour after the Senate meets on the following calendar day but one, he shall lay the motion before the Senate and direct that the Secretary call the roll, and, upon the ascertainment that a quorum is present, the Presiding Officer shall, without debate, submit to the Senate by a yea-and-nay vote the question: 'Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate shall be brought to a close?'"

"And if that question shall be decided in the affirmative by two-thirds of the Senators duly chosen and sworn, then said measure, motion, or other matter pending before the Senate or the unfinished business, shall be the unfinished business to the exclusion of all other business until disposed of.

"Thereafter no Senator shall be entitled to speak in all more than one hour on the measure, motion, or other matters pending before the Senate, or the unfinished business, the amendments thereto, and motions affecting the same, and it shall be the duty of the Presiding Officer to keep the time of each Senator who speaks. Except by unanimous consent, no amendment shall be in order after the vote to bring the debate to a close, unless the same has been presented and read prior to that time. No dilatory motion, or dilatory amendment, or amendment not germane shall be in order. Points of order, including questions of relevancy, and appeals from the decision of the Presiding Officer, shall be decided without debate."

Subsection 3 of Rule 22 says that the cloture procedure above "shall not apply to any motion to proceed to

the consideration of any motion, resolution, or proposal to change any of the Standing Rules of the Senate."

Procedure Followed

Simply, Rule 22 says that debate can be shut off by two-thirds of the Senate membership. Counting Alaska's two Senators, this means 66 Senators. The vote on whether to shut off debate is taken two days after 16 Senators have signed such a motion. However, Subsection 3 of Rule 22 states that debate cannot be shut off on proposals to change rules of the Senate. Therefore, rule changing proposals can be talked to death.

Because of Subsection 3, rule changers have resorted to a complicated procedure. They do not try to amend Rule 22 right off by holding hearings on a rule change and then voting on it. Instead, a motion is made to consider adoption of new rules for the Senate. If such a motion carries, the Senate is temporarily without rules. By voting to consider new rules it has said the old rules have been set aside. So neither Rule 22 nor any other rule is in force until the Senate adopts its new rules. This sets the stage for the adoption of an amended Rule 22. Subsection 3 cannot be used to talk to death the proposed rule change. The majority of the Senate runs the show, not one-third.

Here were the steps taken by the rule changers on opening day of the 85th Congress, steps that may be taken again Jan. 7, 1959:

1. Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D N.M.) moved that "in accordance with Article 1, section 5 of the Constitution which declares that...each House may determine the rules of its proceedings...I now move that this body take up for immediate consideration the adoption of rules for the Senate of the 85th Congress."

2. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D Texas) moved that Anderson's motion be tabled. (Proponents of the rule change originally planned to raise a point of order on Anderson's motion. It then would have been up to Vice President Richard M. Nixon, as Senate presiding officer, to rule whether Anderson's motion was in order. Nixon would have had to say whether the Senate could adopt new rules or whether it was bound to follow old ones. If Nixon had ruled that new rules could be adopted and the majority of the Senate backed up his ruling, the way would be clear to propose new rules. Rule 22 could have been amended and the rest of the rules reinstated. But Nixon as a matter of Senatorial custom was obliged to recognize Johnson, the majority leader, before he recognized any of the rule changers intent on raising a point of order on the Anderson motion. Nixon told a rule changing delegation who came to him before opening day that he did not think precedent would allow Anderson to couple a point of order request with his substantive motion). A motion to table is not debatable. But Johnson asked for unanimous consent to have his tabling motion debated the next day. The Senate agreed.

3. The Senate debated from 11 a.m. until 6 p.m. Jan. 4 on whether Anderson's motion should be tabled. Johnson's tabling motion carried 55-38 (D 27-21; R 28-17). Nixon on Jan. 4 gave an informal opinion on whether the Senate was obliged to follow its old rules.

Filibuster Looms

If the above procedure were followed in 1959, but Johnson's tabling motion were defeated, the Senate could then consider Anderson's motion. A memo being circulated among Southerners cites the possibility of using the filibuster to fight the rules change itself. It emphasizes that Nixon in 1957 said "until the Senate at the initiation of a new Congress expresses its will otherwise, the rules in effect in the previous Congress... remain in effect, with the exception that the Senate should not be bound by any provision in those previous rules which denies the membership of the Senate the power to exercise its constitutional right to make its own rules."

The Southerners could start to filibuster Anderson's motion. The rule changers then could raise a point of order on Section 3 of Rule 22, asking Nixon if it were constitutional. The Southerners expect Nixon to rule that Section 3 is unconstitutional and the Senate to sustain him. The memo states the ruling would not "materially enhance" the rule changers since Section 2 of Rule 22 still would be in force, thus requiring a two-thirds vote to shut off a filibuster on Anderson's motion. The memo also states that a filibuster could be staged after Nixon makes his ruling on Section 3 and before the Senate votes to sustain him.

The two filibuster "opportunities" would give Southerners time to work out a compromise. Of course it is possible that the Senate would vote on a point of order to proceed under general parliamentary rules, thus enabling the majority to shut off debate by moving the previous question.

Principal Argument

The principal argument in the upcoming debate will be over whether old rules carry over to new Senates. Is the Senate of the 86th Congress bound by the rules of the 85th Congress until it changes them in an orderly way? Or can each new Senate, like each new House, decide which rules it shall follow? Both sides quote the Constitution as the basis for their positions.

RULE CHANGERS -- Proponents of changing Rule 22 contend the Constitution clearly gives the Senate authority to adopt new rules. They cite Article I, section 5 of the Constitution which states "each House may determine the rules of its proceedings...." They point out that bills do not carry over from one Congress to the next, so why should rules? They maintain the question of whether the Senate is a continuing body or not is irrelevant to the rules argument. The fact that the Senate continues from one year to the next, they say, does not mean that its rules have to continue also.

ANTI-RULE CHANGE -- Opponents of changing Rule 22 contend the founding fathers intended the rules to carry over from one Congress to the next unless changed by standard legislative procedures. The Constitution provides that one-third of the Senate shall be elected at a time. This, say the anti-rule changing forces, makes the Senate a continuing body.

OTHER ARGUMENTS -- The basic argument for revising Rule 22 is that it enables the minority of the Senate to thwart the will of the majority. Proponents claim the threat of a filibuster forces a majority of Senators to make compromises to the detriment of the legislation at hand. They contend there would be much better civil rights laws on the books if it were not for the filibuster threat.

Defenders of Rule 22 contend it protects a sometimes angry majority from running rough-shod over the rights of a minority. They say empowering a majority to shut off a minority violates the Constitution. They say it impairs the rights of petition and redress of grievances. They argue it would violate the founding fathers' intention of giving each state equal representation in the Senate.

Proposed Revisions

Both the liberal and conservative camps have proposals to amend Rule 22.

DOUGLAS PROPOSAL -- The liberal one (S Res 17) was sponsored in the 85th Congress by Sens. Paul H. Douglas (D Ill.), Irving M. Ives (R N.Y.), James E. Murray (D Mont.), Hubert H. Humphrey (D Minn.), Wayne Morse (D Ore.), Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D Mo.), Dennis Chavez (D N.M.), Henry M. Jackson (D Wash.), Charles E. Potter (R Mich.), Pat McNamara (D Mich.), Clifford P. Case (R N.J.), Richard L. Neuberger (D Ore.), John A. Carroll (D Colo.) and Joseph S. Clark (D Pa.).

S Res 17 provides that 16 Senators may file a petition to shut off debate. Two days after such a petition is filed, the Senate votes on it. Two-thirds of the Senators present and voting (as opposed to two-thirds of the Senate membership) must vote for the motion to shut off debate. After the cloture motion is passed, each Senator can speak for one hour on the bill being debated. S Res 17 also provides that 16 Senators may petition to shut off debate by a majority of the Senate membership (50 Senators). Under this procedure, the petition is read to the Senate right after it is filed but is not voted on until 15 days later. If 50 Senators vote to invoke cloture, each Senator is then limited to speaking one hour on the bill being debated. S Res 17 also would repeal Subsection 3 of Rule 22.

JOHNSON PROPOSAL -- The conservative proposal (S Res 30) was sponsored in the 85th Congress by Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D Texas), Senate Minority Leader William F. Knowland (R Calif.), Sens. Leverett Saltonstall (R Mass.), Styles Bridges (R N.H.), Everett M. Dirksen (R Ill.), H. Alexander Smith (R N.J.), Edward J. Thye (R Minn.), Frank A. Barrett (R Wyo.), J. Glenn Beall (R Md.), Norris Cotton (R N.H.), Roman L. Hruska (R Neb.), Frederick G. Payne (R Maine), William A. Purtell (R Conn.), Chapman Revercomb (R W.Va.), Andrew F. Schoeppel (R Kan.), Arthur V. Watkins (R Utah), John W. Bricker (R Ohio), Wallace F. Bennett (R Utah), Karl E. Mundt (R S.D.), Homer E. Capehart (R Ind.), John F. Kennedy (D Mass.), Mike Mansfield (D Mont.), John J. Williams (R Del.), A.S. Mike Monroney (D Okla.), Robert S. Kerr (D Okla.), Frank Church (D Idaho), Alan Bible (D Nev.), Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D Wyo.), Carl Hayden (D Ariz.), Albert Gore (D Tenn.), William E. Jenner (R Ind.), John Marshall Butler (R Md.), Mrs. Margaret Chase Smith (R Maine), Frank Carlson (R Kan.), Edward Martin (R Pa.), Clinton P. Anderson (D N.M.),

J. Allen Frear Jr. (D Del.) and Theodore Francis Green (D R.I.).

S Res 30 would amend Rule 22 to enable two-thirds of those present and voting, rather than two-thirds of the Senate membership, to shut off debate. It would strike out the part of Subsection 3 of Rule 22 which states that cloture cannot be invoked on debates over changing Rule 22. S Res 30 also provides that "the rules of the Senate shall continue from one Congress to the next Congress unless they are changed as provided in these rules."

Backers of the Douglas proposal contend S Res 30 is far from adequate. They contend it would not remove the filibuster threat whenever civil rights legislation comes up for a vote. They say two-thirds present and voting is no real advantage because on controversial legislation like civil rights, everybody votes. They fear

the part of S Res 30 stating that Senate rules carry over from one Senate to the next would hamper any future efforts to liberalize Rule 22.

Outlook

Rule 22 definitely will be amended. The question is how much. The most uncertain quantity is the newly elected Senators. Will these freshmen vote with Douglas and the liberals or will they heed the pleas and warnings of Johnson to vote for the less drastic revision? Douglas and his Senate cohorts must convince these freshmen that they have more to fear from Rule 22 and its threat to liberal legislation than from Johnson and his powers to put a Senator in the limelight or the shadows. The liberals have the best chance in Senate history to get their way.

Senate Not Bound By Old Rules If Majority Wants Change

Following is the text of Vice President Richard M. Nixon's informal opinion of Jan. 4, 1957 on the constitutional questions involved in considering the Anderson motion:

The question posed by the preliminary inquiry is, in effect: Do the rules of the Senate continue from one Congress to another?

Although there is a great volume of written comment and opinion to the effect that the Senate is a continuing body with continuing rules, as well as some opinion to the contrary, the Presiding Officer of the Senate has never ruled directly on this question. Since there are no binding precedents, we must first turn to the Constitution for guidance.

The constitutional provision under which only one-third of the Senate membership is changed by election in each Congress can only be construed to indicate the intent of the framers that the Senate should be a continuing parliamentary body for at least some purposes. By practice for 167 years the rules of the Senate have been continued from one Congress to another.

The Constitution also provides that "each House may determine the rules of its proceedings." This constitutional right is lodged in the membership of the Senate and it may be exercised by a majority of the Senate at any time. When the membership of the Senate changes, as it does upon the election of each Congress, it is the Chair's opinion that there can be no question that the majority of the new existing membership of the Senate, under the Constitution, have the power to determine the rules under which the Senate will proceed.

The question, therefore, is, "How can these two constitutional mandates be reconciled?"

It is the opinion of the Chair that while the rules of the Senate have been continued from one Congress to another, the right of a current majority of the Senate at the beginning of a new Congress to adopt its own rules, stemming as it does from the Constitution itself, cannot be restricted or limited by rules adopted by a majority of the Senate in a previous Congress.

Any provision of Senate rules adopted in a previous Congress which has the expressed or practical effect of denying the majority of the Senate in a new Congress the right to adopt the rules under which it desires to proceed is, in the opinion of the Chair, unconstitutional. It is also the opinion of the Chair that Section 3 of Rule 22 in practice has such an effect.

The Chair emphasizes that this is only his own opinion, because under Senate precedents, a question of constitutionality can only be decided by the Senate itself, and not by the Chair.

At the beginning of a session in a newly elected Congress, the Senate can indicate its will in regard to its rules in one of three ways:

- First. It can proceed to conduct its business under the Senate rules which were in effect in the previous Congress and thereby indicate by acquiescence that those rules continue in effect. This has been the practice in the past.

- Second. It can vote negatively when a motion is made to adopt new rules and by such action indicate approval of the previous rules.

- Third. It can vote affirmatively to proceed with the adoption of new rules.

Turning to the parliamentary situation in which the Senate now finds itself, if the motion to table should prevail, a majority of the Senate by such action would have indicated its approval of the previous rules of the Senate, and those rules would be binding on the Senate for the remainder of this Congress unless subsequently changed under those rules.

If, on the other hand, the motion to lay on the table shall fail, the Senate can proceed with the adoption of rules under whatever procedures the majority of the Senate approves.

In summary, until the Senate at the initiation of a new Congress expresses its will otherwise, the rules in effect in the previous Congress in the opinion of the Chair remain in effect, with the exception that the Senate should not be bound by any provision in those previous rules which denies the membership of the Senate the power to exercise its constitutional right to make its own rules.

CQ STUDY INDICATES 50-46 VOTE FOR NEW RULES

The accompanying vote chart shows that of the returning Senators who voted on the Rule 22 issue in 1957, there are 31 who voted to consider adoption of new rules and 44 who voted against considering them. (A vote against the motion to table Sen. Clinton P. Anderson's (D N.M.) motion was a vote for considering new rules.)

In the meantime Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen (R Ill.) announced he had changed his mind since voting against Anderson's motion in 1957. Sens. Alexander Wiley (R Wis.) and Jacob K. Javits (R N.Y.) announced in favor of the Anderson motion, but were not on hand when the vote was taken. In addition, Sen. William Proxmire (D Wis.), who was not in office in 1957 when the Anderson motion was taken, told Congressional Quarterly he favored its adoption. His predecessor, Joseph R. McCarthy (R), voted against considering new rules. This would change the breakdown among committed returning Senators to 35 in favor of adopting new rules and 43 against it.

The balance of power lies with the 18 freshmen Senators. CQ polled them on whether they thought new rules should be adopted in January and what percentage of the Senate membership they thought should be empowered to shut off debate. (For poll questions and answers, see Weekly Report p. 1316.)

These 12 freshmen Senators told CQ they favored adopting new rules in January: Clair Engle (D Calif.), Thomas J. Dodd (D Conn.), Philip A. Hart (D Mich.), Eugene J. McCarthy (D Minn.), Harrison A. Williams Jr. (D N.J.), Kenneth B. Keating (R N.Y.), Stephen M. Young (D Ohio), Hugh Scott (R Pa.), Frank E. Moss (D Utah), Winston L. Prouty (R Vt.), Jennings Randolph (D W.Va.) and Gale McGee (D Wyo.).

A 13th freshman, Robert C. Byrd (D W.Va.), told CQ he opposed considering the adoption of new Senate rules on opening day.

These remaining seven Senators stand uncommitted on whether new Senate rules should be adopted opening day: E.L. (Bob) Bartlett (D Alaska), Ernest Gruening (D Alaska), R. Vance Hartke (D Ind.), Edmund S. Muskie (D Maine), Howard W. Cannon (D Nev.), B. Everett Jordan (D N.C.), and Ralph Yarborough (D Texas). Yarborough told CQ he would not make up his mind on the issue until he reported for work opening day. The other Senators failed to answer the CQ poll. Cannon Dec. 5 said he was inclined toward changing Rule 22 along the lines of S Res 30.

All this gives some solid basis for predicting 47 Senators will vote for an opening day motion to consider adoption of new rules while 44 will vote against it. In addition, past records make it appear probable that Bartlett, Gruening, and Muskie would vote for considering new rules while Jordan and Yarborough would join Southerners voting against it. Hartke and Cannon are question marks.

The net result of all this -- and of course anything can happen when the parliamentary maneuvering actually starts -- is that there appears to be 50 votes for considering the adoption of new rules, 46 against it and 2 in doubt.

If the motion to consider adoption of new rules carries, the Douglas forces will be in a strong position to push through their reform of Rule 22. If it fails, there is certain to be an agreement to amend Rule 22 at least to the extent of allowing two-thirds of those present and voting to shut off debate.

LOBBY PRESSURE

The Douglas forces can count on support from the American Civil Liberties Union, AFL-CIO, Americans for Democratic Action and National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Johnson camp with its more conservative Rule 22 proposal will get aid from the Committee for Constitutional Government and the Southern States Industrial Council.

Organizations on both sides of the issue are sending out bundles of literature in an effort to sway public opinion as well as the Senators themselves.

Legislation Spawnded

Adoption of the Douglas proposal probably would result in far more liberal legislation coming out of Congress, especially in the civil rights field. With the threat of the filibuster removed, this type of legislation is likely to become law in the near future:

- Federal money to build public schools;
- New powers for the U.S. Attorney General so he could protect such civil rights as the right to attend integrated schools;
- Stiff Federal penalties for dynamiting schools, churches and businesses;
- Federal regulations forbidding employers to refuse to employ people because of their race;
- Prohibition of poll taxes;
- An anti-lynching law.

Proponents say that in the long run the Douglas revision of Rule 22 also would result in less "pork barrel" bills -- the type of bill where a Senator says "I won't vote for it until you put something in it for my state."

Opponents say the Douglas proposal would enable an angry majority to pass legislation they would later regret. They point to the success of a minority stopping President Roosevelt in 1937 from packing the Supreme Court and President Truman from drafting striking railroad men into the Army in 1946.

Rule 22 Quotes

Views pro and con on Rule 22:

PRO -- Sen. Richard B. Russell (D Ga.) -- "I believe that when we gag the Senate of the U.S. we are not only diminishing the stature of every Member of this body, but we are impinging on the rights of the state he represents and the people he represents, by curtailing the powers, the rights and the voices of states which should be sovereign."

CON -- Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D Ill.) -- "Rule 22 is sand in the gears of democracy.... The day we take this veto pistol away from those who would thwart majority rule will be the day we start on the road toward solving the great civil rights problem of 20th century America.... On that day the Southern Senators who are perhaps most knowledgeable about this grave problem will be required to put their minds to its solution."

How Senators in 86th Congress Feel About Changing Rules

1949. Vote on whether to adopt the current Rule 22 which requires that two-thirds of the Senate membership must vote to shut off debate. Rule 22 states that this cloture rule does not apply to proposals to change the rules of the Senate. Agreed to, 63-23 (D 29-15; R 34-8), March 17, 1949. (1949 Almanac p. 671)

1953. Vote on motion to table Anderson (D N.M.) motion to consider adoption of new rules for the Senate. A vote in favor of tabling the motion was a vote against changing Rule 22. Agreed to, 70-21 (D 29-15; R 41-5), Jan. 7, 1953. (1953 Almanac p. 381)

1957. Vote on motion to table Anderson (D N.M.) motion to consider adoption of new rules for the Senate. A vote in favor of tabling the motion was a vote against changing Rule 22. Agreed to, 55-38 (D 27-21; R 28-17), Jan. 4, 1957. (1957 Almanac p. 284)

Stand: A "Y" indicates the Senator-elect in 1959 would vote to table the Anderson motion. An "N" indicates the Senator-elect in 1959 would vote against tabling the motion; an "N*" indicates he also favors S Res 17.

Sen. Milton R. Young (R N.D.) may not be on hand to vote in 1959 because he is recovering from an operation.

TOTAL					DEMOCRATIC					REPUBLICAN				
Vote No.	1949	1953	1957		Vote No.	1949	1953	1957		Vote No.	1949	1953	1957	
Yea	63	70	55		Yea	29	29	27		Yea	34	41	28	
Nay	23	21	38		Nay	15	15	21		Nay	8	5	17	

1949	1953	1957	Stand	1949	1953	1957	Stand	1949	1953	1957	Stand	1949	1953	1957	Stand
ALABAMA				IOWA				NEVADA				SOUTH DAKOTA			
Hill	Y	Y	Y	Hickenlooper	Y	Y	*Y	Bible	-	-	Y	Case	-	Y	Y
Sparkman	Y	Y	Y	Martin	-	-	N	Cannon	-	-	-	Mundt	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA				KANSAS				NEW HAMPSHIRE				TENNESSEE			
Barlett	-	-	-	Carlson	-	Y	Y	Bridges	Y	Y	Y	Gore	-	Y	Y
Gruening	-	-	-	Schoeppel	Y	✓	Y	Cotton	-	-	Y	Kefauver	Y	?	N
ARIZONA				KENTUCKY				NEW JERSEY				TEXAS			
Hayden	Y	Y	Y	Cooper	-	Y	N	Williams	-	-	-	Johnson	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	-	Y	Y	Morton	-	-	N	Case	-	-	N	Yarborough	-	-	-
ARKANSAS				LOUISIANA				NEW MEXICO				UTAH			
Fulbright	✓	Y	Y	Ellender	Y	Y	Y	Anderson	N	N	N	Moss	-	-	N
McClellan	✓	Y	Y	Long	Y	Y	Y	Chavez	X	?	N	Bennett	-	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA				MAINE				NEW YORK				VERMONT			
Engle	-	-	-	Muskie	-	-	-	Javits	-	-	-	Aiken	N	Y	N
Kuchel	-	N	N	Smith	Y	Y	N	Keating	-	-	-	Prouty	-	-	N
COLORADO				MARYLAND				NORTH CAROLINA				VIRGINIA			
Carroll	-	-	N	Beall	-	Y	N	Ervin	-	-	Y	Byrd	Y	Y	Y
Allott	-	-	N	Bulter	-	Y	Y	Jordan	-	-	-	Robertson	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT				MASSACHUSETTS				NORTH DAKOTA				WASHINGTON			
Dodd	-	-	-	Kennedy	-	N	N	Langer	N	Y	Y	Jackson	-	N	N
Bush	-	Y	N	Saltonstall	Y	Y	Y	Young	Y	Y	Y	Magnuson	N	X	N
DELAWARE				MICHIGAN				OHIO				WEST VIRGINIA			
Frear	Y	Y	Y	Hart	-	-	-	Lausche	-	-	N	Byrd	-	-	Y
Williams	Y	Y	Y	McNamara	-	-	N	Young	-	-	-	Randolph	-	-	N
FLORIDA				MINNESOTA				OKLAHOMA				WISCONSIN			
Holland	Y	Y	Y	Humphrey	N	N	N	Kerr	Y	Y	Y	Proxmire	-	-	N*
Smathers	-	Y	Y	McCarthy	-	-	-	Monroney	-	Y	Y	Wiley	Y	Y	X
GEORGIA				MISSISSIPPI				OREGON				WYOMING			
Russell	Y	Y	Y	Eastland	Y	Y	Y	Morse	N	N	N	McGee	-	-	N*
Talmadge	-	-	Y	Stennis	Y	Y	Y	Neuberger	-	-	N	O'Mahoney	X	-	N
IDAHO				MISSOURI				PENNSYLVANIA				- KEY -			
Church	-	-	N	Hennings	-	N	N	Clark	-	-	N				
Dworsbak	-	Y	Y	Symington	-	N	N	Scott	-	-	-	Y	Record Vote For (yea).		
ILLINOIS				MONTANA				RHODE ISLAND				✓	Announced For, Paired For, CQ Poll For.		
Douglas	N	N	N	Mansfield	-	N	N	Green	N	N	Y	N	Not a Member when vote was taken.		
Dirksen	-	Y	Y	Murray	X	N	N	Pastore	-	N	N	N	Record Vote Against (nay).		
INDIANA				NEBRASKA				SOUTH CAROLINA				X	Announced Against, Paired Against, CQ Poll		
Hartke	-	-	-	Curtis	-	-	Y	Johnston	Y	Y	Y	?	Against.		
Capehart	Y	Y	Y	Hruska	-	-	Y	Thurmond	-	-	Y		Absent, General Pair "Present," Did not announce or answer Poll.		

Democrats in this type; Republicans in *italics*

HISTORY, TECHNIQUES OF SENATE FILIBUSTERS

"When a Senator once takes the floor," observed Democratic Floor Leader Joseph T. Robinson (Ark.) in 1932, "nobody but Almighty God can interrupt him -- and the Lord never seems to take any notice of him." Twenty-seven years later, as the Senate braced for debate on changing the Senate rule covering filibustering, Robinson's statement seemed likely to be put to the test.

The word "filibuster" as applied to legislative obstruction is relatively new (it was derived from filibusters, or West Indian buccaneers), but the tactics it describes are as old as parliamentary government. The United States Senate often is described as its last fortress.

The most important tool of the filibusterer is long-continued talk, for which a strong physical constitution is a prerequisite. Other techniques are dilatory motions, roll-call votes, quorum calls, points of order and appeals and the interjection of other business. Successful use of these devices calls for deft use of parliamentary procedure; Senators with less than expert knowledge are likely to rely on talk, since a parliamentary blunder could spell defeat for their cause.

As a rule, a filibuster is most likely to succeed near the end of a session, when comparatively brief obstruction can imperil all pending legislation. Before the adoption of the 20th ("Lame Duck") Amendment to the Constitution in 1933, Congress met biennially after the election and sat until March 4 of the following year; during that short session filibusters were an almost routine occurrence. In mid-session, a filibuster may be successful if urgent legislation is delayed by the obstruction or if the filibuster has a sufficiently large number of Senators participating and is well organized to continue indefinitely.

Techniques Against Filibusters

Two major techniques are employed against the filibuster. The most spectacular, and probably least effective, is the use of prolonged sessions to break the strength of the obstructionists. The second technique is strict observance of existing Senate rules. Widely ignored rules provide that a speaker must stand, rather than sit or walk about; permit the presiding officer to take a Senator "off his feet" for using unparliamentary language; require that business intervene between quorum calls; and prohibit reading of his speeches or other material by a clerk without Senate consent. The chair also may rule strictly against dilatory motions and points of order raised from the floor. Finally, a Senator may be refused an opportunity to speak more than twice on a subject in any one day (a legislative day may spread over several calendar days if the Senate recesses rather than adjourns) "without leave of the Senate."

The Senate's ultimate check on the filibuster is the provision for cloture, or limitation of debate, contained in Rule 22 of its Standing Rules. The original Rule 22 was adopted in 1917 following a furore over the "talking to death" in the Senate of a proposal by President Woodrow Wilson for arming American merchant ships before U.S. entry into World War I. The 1917 rule required only the votes of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting to invoke cloture. But in 1949, during a parliamentary battle preceding scheduled

Thurmond's Filibuster Record

At 9:12 p.m. Aug. 29, 1957, Sen. Strom Thurmond (D S.C.) completed a 24-hour and 18-minute marathon speech, the longest in Senate history. He began his speech at 8:54 p.m. Aug. 28. His filibuster came just before passage by the Senate 60-15 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

First place was held by Sen. Wayne Morse (D Ore.), who in April, 1953, as an Independent, spoke for 22 hours and 26 minutes on the so-called tidelands oil bill. The previous second-place record was set in 1908 by Sen. Robert M. LaFollette Sr. (R Wis.) who held the floor for 18 hours and 23 minutes in a fight over a currency bill. The previous third-place record holder was Sen. Huey Long (D La.), who in June, 1935, spoke for 15 hours and 30 minutes against extension of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Thurmond's speech caused the first round-the-clock Senate session since 1954. The 1954 sitting was an 85-hour and 49-minute run, with one 24-minute recess, on an atomic energy bill. A 1953 all-night sitting featured Morse's record-setting speech.

consideration of Fair Employment Practices Commission legislation, cloture was made more difficult by raising the necessary number of votes to the present two-thirds of the entire Senate membership (66 Senators). Attempts to amend the rules to make cloture easier were unsuccessful in 1953 and 1957.

Since the adoption of Rule 22 in 1917, there have been 22 cloture votes, of which only four succeeded: Versailles Treaty, 1919; World Court, 1926; branch banking, 1927; and prohibition reorganization, 1927. Of the 22 cloture votes, eight have dealt with so-called civil rights issues. All these have occurred since 1938, and none has been successful. The civil rights cloture votes:

Issue	Date	Yeas	Nays	Yeas Needed
FEPC	July 12, 1950	55	33	64
FEPC	May 19, 1950	52	32	64
Anti-poll tax	July 31, 1946	39	33	48
FEPC	Feb. 9, 1946	48	36	56
Anti-poll tax	May 15, 1944	36	44	54
Anti-poll tax	Nov. 23, 1942	37	41	52
Anti-lynching	Feb. 16, 1938	42	46	59
Anti-lynching	Jan. 27, 1938	37	51	59

Only once during the Eisenhower Administration has there been an attempt to invoke cloture under Rule 22. The Senate July 26, 1954, rejected, by a 44-42 vote, a motion to bring debate to a close on a bill to amend the Atomic Energy Act. The bill finally was passed after 180 hours of debate and acceptance of 13 amendments.

FILIBUSTER PROVIDES LONG AND COLORFUL SENATE MOMENTS

Whether the filibuster is an instrument of minority rule, as its critics charge, or a weapon against majority oppression, as its defenders maintain, certainly it has provided some of the most colorful hours in Senate history -- and also some of the longest.

The characteristic dignity and courtesy of the early Senate was broken by the brief career (1825-27) in that body of John Randolph, an eccentric and vitriolic Virginian who also served for many years in the House. As a Senator, Randolph was famous for a series of lengthy tirades that brought charges of madness and drunkenness upon him and cries of disgrace upon the Senate itself. But in general his one-man show was not taken seriously by either his colleagues or the public.

The first notable Senate filibuster occurred in 1841, when dissident Senators held the floor for 10 days in opposition to a bill to remove the Senate printers. Occasional filibusters marked the next 40 years, but the real heyday of filibustering occurred in the last two decades of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th. Beginning in 1908, efforts to strengthen controls against parliamentary obstruction gradually have led to its decline.

Following are highlights of some Senate filibusters:

- 1841 -- A Whig move to reestablish the Bank of the United States was opposed unsuccessfully by a two-week July filibuster. Henry Clay said the tactics of the minority would "lead to the inference that embarrassment and delay were the objects aimed at," and he threatened a cloture rule to curb them. Unabashed, the filibusterers invited Clay to "make his arrangements at his boarding house for the winter" and warned that they would resort to "any possible extremity" to prevent restriction of debate.

- 1846 -- A filibuster against the Oregon Bill lasted for two months. The measure finally came to a vote through use, apparently for the first time, of the unanimous consent agreement -- a device still used to speed action on a particular piece of legislation.

- 1880 -- An evenly divided Senate debated a measure to reorganize the chamber from March 24 to May 16, when two Republican Senators resigned, giving the Democrats a majority. During this period 26 days were devoted to outright obstruction.

- 1890 -- A bill to provide Federal aid to education sponsored by Henry W. Blair (R N.H.) was filibustered from Feb. 5 to March 20 by Blair himself in an effort to get sufficient support for passage. Believing he had won the requisite strength, Blair permitted the bill to come to a vote, but two Senators at the last minute decided to vote against it. The bill was defeated, 31-37, with Blair himself voting nay in order to be eligible to move reconsideration. It never was revived.

- 1890 -- A filibuster against the Lodge "Force Bill" lasted intermittently from Dec. 2 to Jan. 26, 1891. The bill would have established Federal supervision over polling places at national elections to prevent exclusion of Negro voters in southern states. After seven weeks of debate, the bill's supporters tried to put through a rule for majority cloture. When this failed, the Senate was held in continuous session for four days and nights in an effort to exhaust the filibusterers. Eventually, after 33 days of actual obstruction, the bill was dropped to permit enactment of vital appropriation bills before the 51st Congress expired March 3, 1891. During the debate, West Virginia

Democrat C. J. Faulkner nominally held the floor for 11½ hours, although for nearly eight hours of that time he was relieved of the necessity of speaking through the absence of a quorum.

- 1893 -- A filibuster against repeal of the silver purchase clause of the Sherman Act lasted from Aug. 29 to Oct. 24. After 46 days of actual filibuster and 13 continuous day-and-night sittings, the repealer was passed Oct. 30 and sent to the President. The minority used all the weapons in the filibuster arsenal -- dilatory motions, roll-call votes and quorum calls, in addition to talk. (A new record for talk was set by Populist Sen. William V. Allen of Nebraska who held the floor, with interruptions, for 14 hours.)

The filibuster is described by Franklin L. Burdette in his book "Filibustering in the Senate:" "A Senator would rise solemnly to make a trivial motion and demand the yeas and nays. Duly seconded, the request would result in calling the roll for a vote, when obstructionists, including perhaps the Senator who made the motion, would remain silent when their names were called. Less than half the Senate answering to the roll call, the presiding officer would announce that no quorum was present, though a quorum sat within plain sight of everyone. But, as no quorum had responded upon a roll-call vote, the roll would be called again merely to determine whether Senators were present. This time Senators would answer; a quorum. Once more a roll-call vote would elicit only a few responses; no quorum. Another call for those present; a quorum. But no quorum answered upon a vote. And so on, hour after hour, ending only when the vexed majority could bring in enough of their own forces to produce a quorum upon a vote and thus break the deadlock."

- 1897 -- During a mild filibuster on a naval appropriation bill, the chair ruled that a quorum call could not be ordered unless business had intervened since the last quorum call.

- 1901 -- Republican Sen. Thomas H. Carter of Montana, retiring from the Senate in a few hours, filibustered against a "pork barrel" rivers and harbors bill from the night of March 3 until the Senate adjourned sine die at noon March 4. The bill was a raid on the Treasury, Carter said, and he was performing a "public service" in preventing it from becoming law. He readily yielded for other business, but resumed his item-by-item denunciation of the bill whenever necessary. No determined effort was made to stop him, and the bill died.

- 1902-3 -- Republican Sen. Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, Chairman of the Territories Committee and an opponent of statehood for Arizona and New Mexico, led a filibuster against an omnibus statehood bill. Taking advantage of a custom that no vote should be taken on a measure in the absence of the chairman of the committee that had handled it, Beveridge hid for days in the Washington home of Gifford Pinchot and later slipped away to Atlantic City. The bill ultimately was abandoned.

- 1903 -- Democratic Sen. B.R. ("Pitchfork Ben") Tillman of South Carolina filibustered against an appropriation bill until an item for payment of war claims to his state was restored. The item was replaced in the bill after Tillman threatened to read Byron's "Childe Harold" and other poems into the record until his colleagues surrendered from boredom.

Obstruction Curbs

● 1908 -- A bitter two-day filibuster against the conference report on the Aldrich-Vreeland Currency Bill brought the first significant steps to curb obstruction. Republican Sen. Robert M. LaFollette Sr. of Wisconsin held the floor for 18 hours and 23 minutes, a record that stood until 1938, but he was interrupted by 29 quorum calls and three roll calls on questions of order. LaFollette fortified himself periodically with egg-nogs from the Senate restaurant. According to Burdette, one egg-nog which LaFollette rejected as doped, later was found to contain a fatal dose of ptomaine. No charge of a deliberate poisoning attempt ever was made.

The filibusterers' cause finally was lost when blind Sen. Thomas P. Gore (D Okla.) yielded the floor after learning that Sen. William J. ("Gumshoe Bill") Stone (D Mo.), who was scheduled to relieve him, was in the chamber. But Stone had been called to the cloakroom, and the blind Gore surrendered the floor. The conference report was approved on a hastily demanded roll call.

Three important curbs on filibustering resulted from the 1908 filibuster. They were rulings that (1) the chair could count a quorum if enough Senators were present, even if they did not answer to their names; (2) debate did not count as business for the purpose of deciding if a quorum call was in order; and (3) Senators could be prevented from speaking more than twice on the same subject in one day.

● 1915 -- During a successful filibuster against President Wilson's Ship Purchase Bill, Sen. Reed Smoot (R Utah) spoke for 11 hours and 35 minutes without relief and without deviating from the subject. After almost a month of obstruction, seven Democrats who thought the filibuster should give way to other important legislation joined the Republicans to move that the bill be recommitted. "Regular" Democrats then staged a five-day reverse filibuster until they regained control of the chamber. The Republican filibuster then was renewed. A Democratic cloture motion was blocked, and the bill finally was dropped.

● 1917 -- The talking to death of the Administration's armed neutrality bill by a 12-man bloc in the closing days of the 64th Congress led President Wilson to issue his famous pronouncement that "a little group of wilful men... have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible." As a result of this experience, Wilson demanded and got the cloture rule which still exists in a slightly different form. But all the obstruction did not come from the GOP side of the aisle. On the last day of the session, the Democrats, realizing that the armed neutrality bill was doomed, staged their own filibuster and kept an outraged LaFollette from being able to speak against the bill before crowded Senate galleries.

● 1934 -- In the closing hours of the session, Sen. Huey Long (D La.) successfully forced adoption of a conference report on a farmers' bankruptcy bill. The original copy of the conference report had been lost before it could be presented to the Senate. Long filibustered with the avowed intention of blocking last-minute legislation unless the report was found.

● 1935 -- The most famous of Long's filibusters was staged on an amendment to extension of the National Industrial Recovery Act. The "Kingfish" spoke for 15½ hours, a record for the time. He entertained his colleagues with mouth watering descriptions of southern "pot likker," turnip greens and corn bread.

● 1938 -- During a successful 29-day filibuster against an anti-lynching bill, Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D La.) spoke for 25 hours, intermittently, over six days.

Senate Arrests

● 1942 -- During debate on anti-poll tax legislation, a quorum could not be mustered and the business of the Senate halted. The Sergeant at Arms was directed to "request the attendance of absent Senators," and at length 44 Senators -- five short of a quorum -- appeared. He then was directed to "compel the attendance" of absent Members. "After some delay," the Congressional Record reports, he said 43 Senators were out of town and eight others were in Washington but could not be located. The exasperated Senate finally ordered him to "execute warrants of arrest" upon absent Senators. He was saved from this embarrassing duty by the timely appearance of five Senators to complete the quorum. (The Sergeant at Arms has not always been so fortunate; during debate on the Lower Colorado project in 1927, several infuriated Senators actually were brought into the chamber under arrest.)

● 1947 -- A filibuster to delay a vote on overriding President Harry S. Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Relations Bill induced Glen H. Taylor (D Idaho), a former tent show performer, to expound for 8½ hours on fishing, baptism, Wall Street and his children.

● 1953 -- In one of the longest debates on record, the Senate debated the "tidelands" offshore oil bill from April 1 to May 5. Wayne Morse (D Ore.), then an Independent, established a new record for the longest single speech -- 22 hours and 26 minutes.

● 1957 -- Sen. Strom Thurmond (D S.C.) set a new record for filibustering Aug. 29 just before passage of the House-amended version of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the first civil rights legislation passed by the Senate since 1875. Thurmond spoke 24 hours and 18 minutes. (See box p. 6) The Senate Aug. 7 passed the bill and sent it to the House after 24 days of actual debate which began July 16.

Obstruction in the House

Filibustering tactics were employed in the House of Representatives long before they first disrupted the decorum of the Senate (the first legislative use of the word in the U.S. is said to have occurred in the House in 1853), but the unwieldy size of the lower chamber's membership quickly led to various curbs on debate.

The "previous question" motion, first adopted in 1789, has been used since 1811 to close debate and bring the matter under consideration to an immediate vote. Under a rule adopted in 1798, House Members are permitted to speak only once on a subject in general debate; since 1841, they have been limited to one hour. Since 1847, debate on amendments has been limited to five minutes for each side; and since 1880, a rule of relevancy has been enforced by the Speaker.

Still, dilatory tactics -- chiefly repeated quorum calls -- are possible, though the Speaker may decline to entertain dilatory motions. Speaker Sam Rayburn (D Texas) July 25, 1949, told the House that "since the present Speaker has occupied the Chair he has yet to hold a motion to be dilatory, and will not until it becomes obvious to everybody that dilatory tactics are being indulged in and that a filibuster is being conducted." Rayburn's office reports no record of his ever having used this power.

COOPER, KUCHEL NAMED AS GOP LIBERALS' CANDIDATES

Insurgent Senate Republican liberals Dec. 30 chose Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R Ky.) as their candidate for minority leader against Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen (R Ill.).

They also named Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel (R Calif.) as their choice for the assistant leader or whip's job being vacated by Dirksen.

They put off until Jan. 6 a decision on whom to support for three other leadership posts: the Republican policy committee chairmanship, held by Sen. Styles Bridges (R N.H.); the Republican conference chairmanship, held by Sen. Leverett Saltonstall (R Mass.); and the conference secretary's post, held by Sen. Milton R. Young (R N.D.).

The officials will be elected at a Jan. 7 Republican caucus. (See p. 1)

The Dec. 30 meeting was a follow-up to a Dec. 15 session at which 10 Republican Senators and Senators-elect agreed to run their own slate of candidates for the leadership jobs. (1958 Weekly Report p. 1545)

The Dec. 30 meeting was attended by eight Republicans: Cooper, Kuchel, George D. Aiken (Vt.), Kenneth B. Keating (N.Y.), Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.), Hugh Scott (Pa.), Clifford P. Case (N.J.) and Prescott Bush (Conn.).

Aiken said illness and delays in travel kept three other Senators from attending the session. He named them as Frank Carlson (Kansas), Winston L. Prouty (Vt.) and Alexander Wiley (Wis.). Carlson and Prouty attended the Dec. 15 meeting.

Participants in the meeting said the designation as minority leader had been offered first to Aiken. Aiken said he declined it, because it would be "presumptuous" to think that with Saltonstall of Massachusetts and Bridges of New Hampshire already in leadership posts, another New England Senator could move into the party hierarchy. The selection of Cooper then was unanimous.

Cooper Statement

Cooper said he sought the floor leadership with three purposes in view:

First, to assure "more complete debate within the Republican membership itself on issues that come before the Senate...to achieve better unity" within the party.

Second, to give "greater influence" to the views of the liberal Republicans at White House conferences on Administration policies. "We definitely feel that our views were not adequately presented to the Administration in the past two years," Cooper said.

Third, to present "a more positive, constructive legislative program to the Congress and the country."

Cooper said his backers "represent a more progressive view and one that is more in keeping with the needs of the country." Dirksen, he said, is "not wholly in tune" with that philosophy.

Asked how the "progressive" programs would affect the Federal budget, Cooper said, "We'd look at the budget in terms of our national security.... We're concerned about inflation, but we're also concerned about some of the imbalances in the economy of the country."

(For a discussion of Cooper's political background and record in the Senate, see next page; for a profile of Dirksen, 1958 Weekly Report p. 1441; for differences between the conservative and the liberal Republicans, 1958 Weekly Report p. 1547)

Nixon, Eisenhower Roles

Both sides in the Republican struggle have avoided any public effort to enlist President Eisenhower's support. When Bridges, who is backing Dirksen, conferred with the President Dec. 17, he told reporters Mr. Eisenhower was keeping hands off the dispute.

Aiken Dec. 30 said the liberals "have assurance of the President's neutrality and have respected the President's desire to be left out of this debate."

Vice President Richard M. Nixon's role in the controversy has been less clear.

Aiken Dec. 30 said, "I'm sure he (Nixon) would not want to take any part. He's closely connected to the White House. I respect his neutrality."

However, the New York Herald Tribune Dec. 22 said Nixon's "sympathies are definitely with the insurgents," and Newsweek in its issue dated Jan. 5 said Nixon went to the White House to present the insurgents' arguments "but apparently he did not change the President's mind."

The New York Times Dec. 31 said both Cooper and Dirksen had approached Nixon but were told that he intended to remain neutral.

Outlook

The insurgent liberals appeared to have a hard-core minimum of 12 votes and, according to Aiken, "have an excellent chance to win" an outright majority of 18 votes in the 34-man Republican conference.

Their basic strength includes the eight men at the Dec. 30 meeting, plus Wiley, Carlson and Prouty, who were unable to attend the session. The 12th vote is expected to come from Sen. Thruston B. Morton (R Ky.), who said Dec. 18 Cooper was the only man he would support against Dirksen for the minority leadership. (1958 Weekly Report p. 1570)

Dirksen and his backers have maintained confidence from the start of the liberals' rebellion that they have the votes to win. Their assurance increased Dec. 30 when Sen. J. Glenn Beall (R Md.), who had been counted upon by the liberals, said he had pledged his vote to Dirksen. Other pledges of support for Dirksen came from GOP Sens. Roman L. Hruska (Neb.), John Marshall Butler (Md.), Francis Case (S.D.) and Carl T. Curtis (Neb.).

Kuchel's chances of gaining the whip's job seemed considerably better than Cooper's hopes for the minority leadership. Cooper Dec. 30 said the liberals would back Kuchel for whip no matter what happened on the election for floor leader.

Bridges Dec. 17 offered to accept one of the insurgents as whip and Dirksen Dec. 30 said he had "no objection" to Kuchel for the job.

COOPER IS LIBERALS' CHOICE FOR GOP LEADERSHIP

Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R Ky.), nominated Dec. 30 by GOP insurgent Liberals for the Senate party leadership post previously almost certain to go to Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen (R Ill.), is not a stranger to insurgent ranks. Elected in 1956 as the arch-type of what both Republicans and Democrats considered an Eisenhower Republican, by mid-1957 he was being called Kentucky's "snubbed Senator."

Cooper was born in Somerset, Pulaski County, Ky., Aug. 23, 1901. Graduated from Yale in 1923, he received a law degree from Harvard in 1925. He served as a member of his state legislature from 1928-30; was a county judge from 1930-38, and was elected circuit judge in 1945 for a six-year term. A World War II veteran, Cooper served as United States delegate to the fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1949, and as alternate delegate to the fifth and sixth general assemblies. He was advisor to the Secretary of State at the 1950 London and Brussels meetings of the Council of Ministers of NATO.

Senate Career

Cooper tried unsuccessfully for the GOP nomination for governor in 1940. In 1946 he was elected to the Senate to fill two years of the unexpired term of A.B. (Happy) Chandler (D), who resigned to become baseball commissioner. In 1948, Cooper was defeated for re-election by the late Sen. Virgil Chapman (D 1949-51), but in 1952 he was elected to serve the remaining two years of Chapman's term after the latter's death. He lost his seat in 1954 to the late Sen. Alben W. Barkley.

Cooper was named Ambassador to India in January 1955, but in 1956, at the White House's request, he resigned to enter the Senate race for the seat left vacant by Barkley's death. He campaigned as an Eisenhower supporter, and defeated ex-Gov. Lawrence W. Wetherby (D) for the four-year term.

In his first Senate term (80th Congress) Cooper supported federal housing, aid to education, expanded authority for the Displaced Persons Commission, the European Recovery Program and passage of the Taft-Hartley Act over President Truman's veto. In the 83rd Congress he supported bipartisan foreign policy, freer trade, the United Nations. He said Republicans should try to pass civil rights legislation, thus fulfilling a campaign pledge. His voting record showed Cooper as one of three Senate Republicans to vote for the resolution censuring Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.).

In 1957, however, Cooper made it evident he no longer felt able to represent his region as an all-out Eisenhower Republican. He voted against the Administration in support of a federal power dam at Hells Canyon on the Snake River. He favored enactment of a self-financing system for TVA. He helped the Democrats write into the atomic energy bill provisions strongly opposed by the Administration. On four crucial tests he stood with the Democrats upholding their theory of Government development against the GOP "partnership" policy.

The White House did not ignore Cooper's actions. In September 1957 the President gave a recess appointment to Deputy Budget Director Arnold R. Jones as a TVA board member. A Kansas Republican, Jones was opposed by Democrats and Cooper as hostile to TVA. Cooper had

gone to the White House to discuss the appointment of a board member less than 48 hours before Jones was named, and reportedly was assured the President had no one in mind. It was disclosed later that the Administration had consulted Kentucky's junior Senator, Thruston B. Morton, who had held to the Administration line.

In August 1957 Cooper had lunch at the White House with Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams. The meeting was reported in a Kentucky newspaper as an "apparent amity move," but the story said that "If it was Adams' intention to placate the Kentuckian by feeding him a lunch, he made little or no progress."

Comparison with Dirksen

The CQ Presidential Support and Opposition figures measure the percentage of the time Cooper and Dirksen voted "with" and "against" the President on roll-call votes.

COOPER			DIRKSEN	
Ike Support	Ike Opposition		Ike Support	Ike Opposition
76%	19%	85th Congress	88%	7%
67	27	83rd Congress	78	12

The Party Unity and Party Opposition scores measure the percent of the time each man voted in agreement and in disagreement with the majority of Senate Republicans on roll-call votes where the GOP majority opposed the stand taken by the Democratic majority.

COOPER			DIRKSEN	
Party Unity	Party Opposition		Party Unity	Party Opposition
47%	46%	85th Congress	86%	9%
65	24	83rd Congress	77	6

During the 85th Congress, Cooper supported the Administration's foreign policy on 86 percent of roll calls, was in opposition on 9 percent. Dirksen supported the Administration on 91 percent, opposed on 7 percent. On domestic policy roll call votes, Cooper supported the President on 72 percent, opposed on 23 percent. Dirksen's support was 87 percent, his opposition, 7 percent.

On individual major roll-call votes during 1957-1958 Dirksen and Cooper frequently were on opposite sides. Cooper, by the end of 1958, ranked second highest in the list of Republicans who had voted against their party majority most consistently during the year. His percentage was 55 percent, topped only by the 67 percent opposition of Sen. William Langer (N.D.). (1958 W.R. p. 1344)

Cooper in 1958 voted for the farm price freeze, extended unemployment aid, foreign aid to Communist-dominated countries and bonuses to states regulating interstate highway billboards. Dirksen voted against these.

In 1957, Cooper voted for considering new Senate rules, Dirksen opposed it. They voted similarly in 1958 in favor of labor regulations giving union members the right to sue officers for misuse of funds, against reducing corporate income taxes, and against reducing annual oil and gas depletion allowances. In 1957, they both voted against eliminating the section of the civil rights bill giving the Attorney General authority to seek injunctions outside the voting field.

HOUSE LIBERALS SEEK CHANGE IN RULES COMMITTEE

Long smouldering resentment against the House Rules Committee will manifest itself in the Democratic caucus Jan. 6 when a group of liberals asks for reduction of the committee's power.

The liberals, led by Rep. Frank Thompson (D N.J.), contend the committee, as it has been, amounted to a graveyard for much of the legislation they favor. They emphasize they are not revolting against Speaker Sam Rayburn (D Texas) and the Democratic leadership, but are trying to make the leadership job easier.

Thompson told Congressional Quarterly Dec. 30, 1958, that 170 Members of the House "had indicated interest" in downgrading the Rules Committee. The question of whether the liberals get their way or not depends largely on the attitude of Rayburn within the caucus room.

Here is a description of the Rules Committee as constituted in the 85th Congress along with revisions sought by the liberals.

Rules Committee Power

The Rules Committee started out with the first Congress in 1789 as merely a body to give the House some rules to work under. But through the years it has picked up additional jobs until now it is the most powerful committee in the House.

Its primary power is its authority to decide whether a bill sent to it from a regular legislative committee shall be sent along to the House floor for a vote. The Rules Committee can direct the legislative committee which wrote the bill to amend it. If the legislative committee refuses, the Rules Committee can bottle up the measure indefinitely.

Most House bills (appropriation bills are the big exception) must go through the Rules Committee to get to the floor. So the Rules Committee amounts to a turnstile that can bar most bills from the House floor.

Besides deciding whether a bill shall get to the floor at all, the Rules Committee has the power to dictate how the bill shall be debated once it gets there. It can send a bill to the floor under a "closed" rule or an "open" rule. A closed rule tells the Members of the House how long they can debate the bill and forbids them from making amendments. An open rule allows the Members to debate the bill as long as they want and to amend it however they see fit.

Weapons Against Committee

Under the House rules of the 85th Congress, the Rules Committee can be circumvented in these ways:

DISCHARGE PETITION -- This enables a majority of the House membership (219) to push a bill out of the Rules Committee and onto the floor by signing a petition. It involves these steps: (1) resolution to take the bill (previously reported by the legislative committee) away from the Rules Committee is dropped in the hopper; (2) resolution is referred to the Rules Committee so that its members know a discharge effort is underway; (3) seven days after the Rules Committee has been notified, the Clerk of the House accepts signatures to the discharge motion; (4) as soon as a majority of the House has signed the discharge motion, the motion is placed on the

discharge calendar; (5) the discharge motion can be called up for a vote by any one of the signers on the second or fourth Monday of the month; (6) after no more than 20 minutes debate, the discharge motion is voted on; (7) if the discharge motion carries, the House votes on the resolution describing how the formerly stymied bill shall be debated; (8) if the resolution carries, debate begins on the bill itself.

CALENDAR WEDNESDAY -- This provides that on Wednesday of each week the Speaker of the House shall call on the chairmen of the 19 standing committees in alphabetical order. The chairmen at that time can move that the House take up a bill his committee has reported. This procedure is seldom used, however as noted below. If a chairman does call up a bill, it is debated not more than two hours. It can be passed by majority vote.

SUSPENSION OF THE RULES -- This method is the usual one used to circumvent the Rules Committee. On the first and third Mondays of each month, a motion is in order to suspend the rules of the House and pass a pending bill. Debate on a motion to suspend is limited to 40 minutes, 20 minutes for the proponents and 20 for the opponents. It takes two-thirds of the Members voting to suspend the rules. The vote of suspension also is the vote on whether or not a bill shall be passed. So one vote both suspends the rules and passes the bill. A bill brought up under suspension of the rules cannot be amended.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT -- A bill can be brought out of the Rules Committee if no one objects when the motion to do so is made.

Liberals' Objectives

Liberals pressing for a curb on the House Rules Committee contend none of the above remedies is adequate. They say the discharge petition takes too much time; that the call of the committees puts the power of bringing up a bill into the hands of only the chairmen, many of whom are conservative Southerners, and that neither suspension of the rules nor unanimous consent assures that the majority will get its way.

The liberals want two major changes: (1) realignment of the Rules Committee from eight to nine Democrats and from four to three Republicans and (2) re-enactment and liberalization of the 21-day rule.

REALIGNMENT -- Make-up of the Rules Committee during the 85th Congress: Democrats Howard W. Smith (Va.), chairman; William M. Colmer (Miss.), Ray J. Madden (Ind.), James J. Delaney (N.Y.), James W. Trimble (Ark.), Homer Thornberry (Texas), Richard Bolling (Mo.), Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (Mass.); Republicans Leo E. Allen (Ill.), Clarence J. Brown (Ohio), Henry J. Latham (N.Y.), Hugh Scott (Pa.)

The conservative hard core of this Committee was Smith, Colmer, Allen and Brown. Smith as chairman often has refused to call meetings on bills he did not like. The conservative coalition often turned to Trimble, Thornberry, Latham, and Scott for additional support. The actual voting of the Rules Committee is kept secret. Six votes of the 12 member Committee is enough to keep a bill from going to the floor.

(Continued on p. 24)

(Continued from p. 23)

To strengthen the hand of Madden, Delaney, Bolling and O'Neill, the liberals want to make John A. Blatnik (D Minn.) the ninth Democrat on the Rules Committee. The liberals figure these five Democrats, plus the help they get on many bills from Trimble and Thornberry, will break Smith's grip on liberal legislation.

The liberals figure they will be worse off than ever if there is no realignment of the Committee. Latham retired from the House and Scott was elected to the Senate. They would be replaced by the former Republican members of the Rules Committee, J. Edgar Chenoweth (Colo.) and B. Carroll Reece (Tenn.), two conservatives.

The liberals are hoping that Rayburn will share their fear that the coalition of Smith, Colmer, Allen, Brown, Chenoweth and Reece would dilute or shelve the type of liberal legislation they feel the voters demanded in the Nov. 4 election. The liberals are supported in their contention by the nation's mayors through the Washington-based American Municipal Assn.

21-DAY RULE -- The 21-day rule was adopted by the House Jan. 3, 1949, (opening day of the 81st Congress) by a 275-143 roll-call vote. The rule stipulated that any bill that had been pending in the Rules Committee for 21 calendar days could be called up for a vote by the chairman of the House committee which had reported out the bill.

The 21-day rule was rescinded Jan. 3, 1951, (opening of the 82nd Congress) when the House rejected, on a 179-247 roll-call vote, a motion to renew the 21 day rule. It has not been brought up for a vote since.

The liberals want both the legislative committee chairman and the next ranking majority committee member to have the power to pull a bill out of the Rules Committee under the 21-day rule. This amendment to the old version of the 21-day rule would help to prevent a committee chairman from stymieing other majority members of the committee.

Rayburn did not favor revival of the 21-day rule at the close of the 1958 Session of the House. He feels the Rules Committee performed all right during the 85th Congress. He contends many of the bills did not get a rule from the Rules Committee because they arrived there too late. However, the 1958 election results may have made him more receptive to the 21-day rule since they were widely interpreted as a demand for more liberal legislation.

Smith's View

Smith himself Dec. 31, 1958, told Congressional Quarterly "I don't favor any change in the present situation." He said the 21-day rule "was found not to be successful when tried before" and opposed "loading the Committee" by changing its make-up from 8-4 to 9-3. Smith conceded his Committee has slowed down legislation, "but it was a helpful slowing down or else Congress would not have tolerated it all these years." He has said repeatedly that he was not elected to be a traffic cop; "I have views and when I have them I act accordingly." He contends Representatives often support a bill publicly and then ask the Rules Committee privately to kill it "because they know it is a bad bill but cannot afford to come out against it." Smith said this results in the Rules Committee coming in for a lot of public criticism, "but if you can't take criticism you don't belong on this Committee."

HOUSE MACE

A shaft of slender ebony rods -- a Congressional counterpart of the old-fashioned hickory stick -- has been polished and readied for use when the House of Representatives convenes Jan. 7. Standing on a pedestal by the Speaker of the House for the 170th year will be the Venerable Mace, a symbol of dignity.

Sergeant at Arms Zeake W. Johnson Jr. says that "presenting" the mace before an unruly Member is all that ever has been needed to restore House order. The last time it was needed was during the World War I Congress of 1917-18, according to a House history of its use. Twice during that session the Sergeant at Arms was called upon to present it during heated debate on United States entry into the war.

Perhaps its most spectacular use was during the Sixtieth Congress of 1907-09, when it was used to restore order as one Member rushed at another with a knife. The mace also has stopped brief scuffles between Members, and brought mutual apologies after sharp, ungentelemanly verbal exchanges.

The mace is a 46-inch-long shaft, bound with silver bands and topped by a silver globe surmounted by an eagle of solid silver. Its origin dates back to the First Congress in 1789, which adopted a resolution providing for appointment of a Sergeant at Arms, with a "proper symbol" of his office. It was originally proposed that the mace be placed on the Clerk's table during the House session, and under the table when the House was in committee. This proposal was voted down.

The present mace is not the original one. The first one was destroyed at the burning of the Capitol in 1814. For 25 years a hastily constructed mace of pine wood, painted, was used. In 1842 the mace now in use was procured. It is approximately the same size and nearly the design of the original one.

NEW SENATE OFFICES

The long anticipated exodus of Senators from the old (50 years) Senate Office Building to its gleaming but still unfurnished neighbor, the \$23-million new Senate Office Building, has been delayed for about six weeks, according to Gilbert N. Harrison, chief clerk of the Rules and Administration Committee. In the meantime, the incumbent Senators who expected to move will stand pat in the old building and the 18 incoming lawmakers will occupy the suites of their predecessors who either retired from Congress or who were defeated for reelection.

A few of the freshmen have temporarily moved into offices in the old building which were formerly occupied by four committees. The Committees -- Finance, Labor and Public Welfare, Interstate and Foreign Commerce and District of Columbia -- already have moved to the new building, taking their old furniture with them. Another premature tenant is the Office of Legislative Counsel.

When finally ready for occupancy in February, the marble-fronted structure will house 42 Senators and 12 standing committees.

A fleet of station wagons is being readied to provide temporary quick transportation from the new building to the Capitol, so tenants can be present for unexpected roll-call votes. A subway is being built to the new building similar to the one now in operation between the Capitol and the old building, but Harrison said the rapid transit cars probably won't be delivered for about six months.

CONGRESS-ADMINISTRATION STRUGGLE LIES AHEAD

A long and acrimonious session awaits Members of the 86th Congress, which convenes Jan. 7. Many of the details of the President's legislative proposals will be revealed when his Budget Message is transmitted in mid-January. It is already apparent, however, that its contents will provoke sharp clashes between a Republican President who faces mandatory retirement two years hence and a Congress now controlled by a 2-to-1 Democratic majority.

By announcing Dec. 22 his intention to offer a balanced budget for fiscal 1960 of around \$77 billion -- or some \$3 billion under estimated spending in fiscal 1959 -- President Eisenhower indicated that consolidation and retrenchment will characterize his recommendations to Congress. Democratic liberals, on the other hand, have interpreted their gains in the Nov. 4 election as a public mandate for the enactment of new and enlarged Federal services. The degree to which the views of this group will prevail on Capitol Hill remains to be seen; there can be no question, however, that the 1959 version of the "Battle of the Budget" will be a two-sided affair.

The fiscal issues of 1959 -- income and outgo, public debt, taxes, inflation -- are discussed on pages 28-29. Similar background information is provided on the Mutual Security Program (pp. 30-31) and farm policy (p. 32). Other major topics slated for Congressional attention are reviewed briefly in the following checklist, under four headings -- National Security, Foreign Affairs, Civil Benefits, and Federal Regulation. Page references are to background material in the 1958 CQ Almanac.

National Security

● **DEFENSE SPENDING:** The President is expected to place a ceiling of less than \$42 billion on Defense Department spending in fiscal 1960 -- only slightly above estimated spending in fiscal 1959. Squeezed between this ceiling and rising costs, the military services are having to liquidate or cut back a variety of programs, many of them in the missile field. Democrats on the Senate and House Armed Services Committees are primed to renew their charges that the Administration is sacrificing defense needs in order to balance the budget. But the President is under no obligation to spend any additional money Congress may decide is needed to bridge gaps in the preparedness program. An extra \$826 million voted in 1958 remains frozen in the Treasury (pp. 344, 669).

● **MILITARY MANPOWER:** Congress is certain to ask some pointed questions about military manpower policies. The Administration is going ahead with its plan to cut the Army to 870,000 and the Marine Corps to 175,000, although Congress added funds in 1958 to maintain the Army at 900,000 men and the Marines at 200,000. At the same time, the Administration plans to ask Congress for a four-year extension of the draft law, which expires on June 30, although the monthly draft call has dropped to 9,000 while the pool of men eligible for the draft has grown to 2.2 million. While there is no evidence that

Congress is prepared to take the initiative in revising the draft, dissatisfaction with its shortcomings could lead to a shorter extension of the law.

● **DEFENSE REORGANIZATION:** Congress last year authorized an extensive realignment of authority in the Department of Defense, in the hopes of eliminating some of the costly duplication of effort resulting from inter-service rivalry, and of simplifying the decision-making process (p. 133). No new legislation is contemplated in this field, but the Armed Services Committees will want to know just how much progress has been made under the 1958 reorganization law.

● **OUTER SPACE:** Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D Texas) has said that Congress must "breathe life" into the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, created in 1958 (p. 160), and "launch a program to explore outer space." More funds may therefore be supplied to NASA, which has \$300 million this year, and to the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency, now spending \$460 million. Some Democrats advocate placing NASA, the Atomic Energy Commission and other agencies in a full-fledged Department of Science. But the President appears to have headed off such a development by his decision Dec. 27 to create an advisory Federal Council for Science and Technology.

● **CIVIL DEFENSE:** The Federal Civil Defense Administration and the Office of Defense Mobilization were merged in 1958 into the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization (p. 205). There appears to be little chance that either the Administration or Congress will endorse any large-scale shelter program, such as was advocated late in 1957 by the Gaither Report.

● **RENEGOTIATION ACT:** This 1951 law, which permits the Government to recapture "excessive profits" made on defense contracts, is under heavy attack by business groups. A six-month extension voted in 1958 runs out on June 30, 1959, and Congress is expected to revise the act before agreeing to a further extension.

Foreign Affairs

● **FOREIGN AID:** The annual debate over extension of the Mutual Security Program will be delayed in 1959, since the President's proposals are not expected until April 1. (For details, p. 30 this issue) The Administration may not delay a request for an increase in the United States commitments to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund. Only a guarantee is involved in the case of the Bank; the Fund proposal, however, calls for \$1.4 billion in cash. Beyond these steps, the Administration will recommend a program of incentives to spur private investment in underdeveloped countries.

● **TRADE POLICY:** No major trade legislation is expected in 1959, since Congress approved a four-year extension of the reciprocal trade program last year (p. 165). But the legislators are certain to keep an eye

on the level of U.S. exports (their decline in 1957-58 added fuel to the recession), on the effects of the now-operating European Common Market, and on the President's handling of escape clause cases.

● **IMMIGRATION:** Liberal Democrats will renew their efforts to revamp the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, and President Eisenhower may repeat his requests of prior years for basic modifications in the law. But there is no indication as yet that a majority of Congress is prepared to go along.

● **PASSPORTS:** When the Supreme Court ruled last June that the State Department had no authority to deny passports to citizens because of their beliefs and associations, the President asked Congress to spell out such authority in a new passport law (p. 614, 702). Congress failed to do so, and the request will be repeated in 1959, with a good chance that it will be granted in a modified form.

Civil Benefits

● **AID TO EDUCATION:** The Administration will ask Congress for additional funds to finance the program of loans and grants authorized in 1958 by the National Defense Education Act (pp. 213, 610). But there are no plans to ask for a school construction program, which the Administration proposed in 1957 but dropped in 1958. Liberal Democrats will press for an aid-to-construction program; without Administration support, however, any aid bill runs a strong risk of being killed in the House.

● **HEALTH MEASURES:** The Administration would like to cut back on Federal grants for hospital construction and pollution control; many Democrats would like to see these programs increased. Congress last year extended authority for hospital grants for five years (p. 309); the legislators also added \$50 million to the Administration's request for health research funds (p. 302). Much more controversial is the proposal, embodied in a bill sponsored by Rep. Aime J. Forand (D R.I.), to provide health insurance for persons over 65 as part of the Social Security program. Congress last year approved a 7 percent increase in Social Security benefits (p. 156), but took no action on the Forand bill. Its chances in 1959 are "iffy."

● **HOUSING:** The major battle of 1959 in the complex housing field will concern the size and shape of the urban renewal program, which has run out of funds. The Administration called last year for a six-year, \$1.3 billion program in which the Federal share in each project would drop from two-thirds to one-half. The Senate approved an omnibus housing bill authorizing \$1.8 billion for urban renewal over six years, with no change in the grant formula, but the measure failed to clear the House (p. 225). Municipal interests are asking for \$6 billion over ten years. Congress is almost certain to approve a more liberal program than is desired by the President, opening up the prospect of a veto. Other controversial housing issues to be debated: the amount and terms of FHA mortgage authority; Administration proposals to raise interest rates; Democratic attempts to enlarge the public housing program and to add loan funds for college classrooms.

● **HIGHWAY FUNDS:** The President will ask Congress to raise the Federal excise tax on gasoline by 1 or 2 cents a gallon to help meet the soaring costs of the 13-year highway program launched in 1956. Without this step, or a decision to subsidize the Highway Trust Fund from the general fund, a slowdown is inevitable. Congress agreed last year to suspend the program's pay-as-you-go

Expiring Legislation

These major laws or legislative provisions expire in 1959 unless Congress extends them:

Reorganization Act of 1949, extended in 1957 by PL 286 for two years; expires June 1, 1959.

Federal Airport Act of 1946, extended in 1955 by PL 211 for four years; expires June 30, 1959.

Temporary increase of \$5 billion in the public debt limit, authorized Feb. 26, 1958 by PL 336; expires June 30, 1959.

Mutual Security Act of 1954, extended and amended in 1958 by PL 477; expires June 30, 1959.

Renegotiation Act of 1951, extended in 1958 by PL 930; expires June 30, 1959.

Universal Military Training and Service Act -- induction authority, extended in 1955 by PL 118 for four years; expires July 1, 1959.

Current corporation normal tax rate and certain excise tax rates, extended in 1958 by PL 475 for one year; expires July 1, 1959.

International Wheat Agreement of 1949, extended in 1956 by PL 945 for three years; expires July 31, 1959.

Reserve Forces Act of 1955 (PL 305) -- authority for six-month enlistments; expires Aug. 1, 1959.

Commission on Civil Rights, created in 1957 by PL 315; expires 60 days after Sept. 9, 1959 deadline for final report.

Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (PL 480), extended in 1958 by PL 931 for 18 months; expires Dec. 31, 1959.

requirement through fiscal 1960 (p. 140), as an anti-recession measure. But the legislators appear more likely to approve the tax boost in 1959 than to authorize a continuing deficit in the Trust Fund.

● **DEPRESSED AREAS:** The three-year controversy between Democrats and the Administration over a Federal program to assist chronically depressed areas in the United States will continue in 1959. As he has since 1956, the President will propose a limited, \$50-million loan program. Democrats are expected to push through a bill at least as generous as the \$280-billion measure which cleared Congress in 1958, only to be vetoed by the President (p. 147). The only doubtful aspect is whether another veto can be overridden.

● **COMMUNITY FACILITIES:** The Senate last year passed a bill raising from \$100 million to \$1 billion funds available for loans to municipalities for construction of various public facilities, but the measure was killed by a narrow margin in the House (p. 151). Democrats who backed the bill as an anti-recession measure are nevertheless planning to reintroduce it. Although the Administration withheld comment on the matter last year, explicit objection is expected if the measure emerges from committee in 1959.

● **AID TO AIRPORTS:** The Federal Airport Act of 1946, providing for grants to states for airport construction, expires on June 30, 1959. Last year Congress approved a four-year extension, along with an increase in grants from \$63 million to \$100 million a year, but President Eisenhower vetoed the bill (p. 309). He indicated then

that he would propose gradual liquidation of the program. Since it is doubtful that the Administration is prepared to let the program die this year, Congress is in a good position to enact a bill similar to the one passed last year.

● **ATOMIC POWER:** The pace of Federal efforts to hasten the advent of economic atomic power remains a subject of dispute between Democrats on the Joint Atomic Energy Committee and the Administration. The President still looks to private industry to provide the funds and the initiative; the Democrats want the Atomic Energy Commission to assume the responsibility. Congress doubled the Administration's request for construction authorization in 1958; most of the increase, however, was for military purposes (p. 313). The President's 1960 budget almost certainly will call for a smaller outlay for civilian power development than Democrats are prepared to approve.

● **RECLAMATION:** The Administration is expected to renew its endorsement of the Frypan-Arkansas reclamation project in Colorado, which was authorized by the Senate in 1957 but never brought to a vote in the House. Plans for the project are undergoing substantial revision, however, so its prospects in 1959 cannot be assessed.

● **SMALL BUSINESS:** The Small Business Administration was given permanent status in 1958, as well as a new \$250-million investment fund to supply equity capital and long-term loans to small businesses (pp. 257-8). Congress also approved several tax benefits designed to assist small business (p. 262). So little new legislation is expected in 1959.

● **VETERANS' BENEFITS:** Congress is braced to receive President Eisenhower's long-promised recommendations for cutbacks in veterans' services and benefits, which cost the Federal Government more than \$5 billion a year. Among the more likely proposals is a reduction in medical services to veterans for non-service-connected injury or illness. The major veterans' organizations are adamantly opposed to any reductions; it would be miraculous if Congress were to approve them.

Federal Regulation

● **LABOR LAW:** The Administration plans to ask Congress for substantially the same package of labor law changes requested in 1958, some of which were contained in the Kennedy-Ives bill that passed the Senate but was killed in the House (p. 191). Democrats talk of sticking to the Kennedy-Ives measure, which fell considerably short of what the President wanted. Whether a satisfactory compromise can be found seems doubtful. Democrats, however, are under some pressure to pass a reasonably effective anti-corruption measure, lest the odors of union racketeering be wafted into the 1960 Presidential campaign.

● **MINIMUM WAGE:** The Administration will renew its proposal for extending minimum-wage coverage to about 2.5 million workers, chiefly in the retail trades. Union leaders are more interested in raising the minimum wage from \$1 an hour to \$1.25. Although both steps have substantial support among Democrats, it is not clear that either will be taken in 1959.

● **UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS:** Sen. John F. Kennedy (D Mass.) plans to renew his efforts to establish strong Federal standards for the unemployment compensation system now left to the discretion of the individual

states. The Administration is studying the possibility of recommending a set of minimum standards for weekly benefits, which now range from \$3 in Mississippi to \$45 in New York, and in duration of payments, now ranging from five weeks in Florida to 30 in Pennsylvania. There is also the question of extending coverage to workers now excluded from the employer-financed program.

● **CIVIL RIGHTS:** A host of civil rights proposals are certain to be discussed by Congress in 1959. Liberal Democrats hope to restore Part 3 to the Civil Rights Act of 1957. This section, eliminated by the Senate, would permit the Department of Justice to seek injunctions in the entire civil rights field. Other proposals include an anti-bombing law, a ban on dissemination of hate-literature, and various schemes for countering state measures aimed at preserving segregated school systems. The Administration is reported to be considering some proposals of its own. But the sole measure with any certainty of being enacted will be an extension of the Sept. 9, 1959 deadline for the final report of the Civil Rights Commission.

● **PREEMPTION DOCTRINE:** Rep. Howard W. Smith (D Va.) will reintroduce HR 3, the controversial states-rights measure that would repeal the doctrine of Federal preemption in fields of concurrent Federal-state jurisdiction. HR 3 passed the House in 1958 but was shunted aside in the Senate (p. 289). The new complexion of the 86th Congress makes enactment of HR 3 unlikely.

● **REGULATORY AGENCIES:** The 1958 investigation of television-channel awards by the Federal Communications Commission revealed that off-the-record attempts to influence FCC decisions are more the rule than the exception. The investigators concluded that regulatory agencies should discourage such practices by throwing out the applications of persons using these tactics (p. 687). A law to that effect has a good chance of being passed.

● **ANTITRUST LAWS:** The Administration is expected to renew its requests for a pre-merger notification law, ignored in 1958, and a measure making Federal Trade Commission cease-and-desist orders effective immediately without court order, which passed the Senate but died in the House. Liberal Democrats will attempt to amend the Robinson-Patman Act to tighten prohibitions on price discrimination. The outcome of these proposals will be influenced, to some extent, by developments in the economy in 1959.

● **JUDGESHIPS:** Congress failed to act last year on the Administration's request for 46 new Federal judgeships, to relieve congestion in the Federal courts. The request will be repeated, but there is some doubt that a heavily Democratic Congress will be willing to open the door to the lifetime appointment of so many Republicans. Anticipation of the 1960 election provides an additional inducement for Democrats to drag their feet on this issue.

● **HAWAII STATEHOOD:** The admittance of Alaska as the 49th state, approved by Congress in 1958 (p. 281), has buoyed hopes that Hawaii will win equal status in 1959. President Eisenhower is expected to ask again that Hawaii be admitted, despite the fact that the one-time Republican predominance in the island territory has given way to Democratic control. Southern Democrats remain opposed to the idea of further diluting their strength in the Senate by increasing its membership to 100. But their chances of stalling off Hawaii for much longer are not great.

FEDERAL ECONOMY POSES TOUGH QUESTION FOR CONGRESS

President Eisenhower's forthcoming budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960, will initiate wide-ranging debate in 1959 over a broad spectrum of economic and fiscal issues. The short-term problems of the recession which dominated the attention of Congress for the first three months of 1958 have been dissipated by the recovery now actively underway. Arising in their stead are such longer-term questions as the sufficiency of the economy's rate of growth, the capacity of the Federal tax structure to support rising expenditures, and the adequacy of defenses against inflation. These and related issues will be explored in Congressional hearings in 1959, as the legislators grapple with the more immediate problems of approving, modifying or rejecting the President's recommendations.

Economic Outlook

Key indicators of economic activity that were moving downward when Congress convened last January are now continuing to move upward.

- The Federal Reserve's index of industrial production (1947-49 = 100), which dropped steadily from 145 in August, 1957, to a low of 126 in April, 1958, had returned to 141 by November.

- Unemployment, which climbed from 2.5 million in October, 1957 to 5.2 million in March, stood at 3.8 million in November. This represented 5.9 percent of the civilian labor force, on a seasonally adjusted basis, down from 7.5 percent in April.

- Personal income, which reached a peak annual rate of \$352.1 billion in August, 1957, then dropped to \$346.4 billion in February, reached the \$360 billion rate in November.

- Business expenditures for new plant and equipment, which dropped (at the annual rate) from \$37.7 billion in the third quarter of 1957 to \$29.6 billion in the third quarter of 1958, are estimated at \$29.9 billion for the fourth quarter and at \$30.5 billion for the first quarter of 1959.

- Gross national product, which dropped from an annual rate of \$445.6 billion in the third quarter of 1957 to the \$429 billion level in the second quarter of 1958, was expected to surpass the \$446 billion rate in the fourth quarter. Total GNP for 1958 of \$436 billion or more appeared likely -- slightly under the \$440 billion achieved in 1957.

Continuing improvement in the economy is generally anticipated, but the rate of advance remains a matter of conjecture. Rising Federal and other government expenditures, together with increasing personal consumption expenditures, will stimulate increased economic activity. It is not yet clear, however, that business spending for expansion will rise rapidly; there is still excess capacity in many areas.

Several business economists have forecast a 1959 gross national product of \$475 billion -- an increase of \$35 billion or more over the probable 1958 result. That would not be out of line with experience following the

1948-49 and 1953-54 recessions. GNP jumped from \$257 billion in 1949 to \$285 billion in 1950, then to \$329 billion in 1951 under the impetus of the Korean War. It climbed from \$363 billion in 1954 to \$397 billion in 1955, then to \$419 billion in 1956, as the capital goods boom got underway. Whether the economy is likely to move with similar speed in 1959 and 1960 won't be apparent for several months. But heavy deficit spending by the Federal Government promises to spur the economy at several levels.

Federal Budget

The President announced Dec. 22 that he would propose a balanced budget for fiscal 1960 calling for income and outgo "in the general area of \$77 billion." His budget message, due in mid-January, is also expected to place expenditures in fiscal 1959 at about \$80 billion and revenues at about \$68 billion, an increase of \$1 billion in each since the Budget Bureau issued its Mid-year Review on Sept. 11, 1958, with these breakdowns:

Budget Expenditures, By Function

(In millions of dollars)

	1958 ACTUAL	1959 ESTIMATED	
		JAN.	SEPT.
Major national security	\$44,957	\$46,336	\$46,845
International affairs	1,349	1,312	1,441
Veterans' benefits	5,026	5,012	5,162
Labor & welfare	3,381	3,643	4,345
Agriculture	4,475	4,601	6,392
Natural resources	1,543	1,492	1,691
Commerce & housing	2,115	1,787	3,878
General government	1,356	1,403	1,667
Interest	7,695	7,869	7,578
Allowance for contingencies:			
Pay adjustment		179	
Other		300	225
TOTAL	\$71,897	\$73,934	\$79,223

Budget Receipts, By Source

Individual income taxes	\$34,724	\$38,500	\$36,000
Corporation income taxes	20,074	20,400	16,700
Excise taxes	8,521	9,280	8,400
All other receipts	5,764	6,220	5,900
TOTAL	\$69,083	\$74,400	\$67,000
Surplus or deficit	-2,814	+466	-12,223

Net budget expenditures tend to remain relatively stable throughout the fiscal year, rising slightly in the second or January-June half. Since spending for the first five months of fiscal 1959 (July through November) totaled

\$32.8 billion, there is little prospect that the total for the year will fall much below \$80 billion. Net budget receipts, on the other hand, vary greatly from month to month, and always accumulate more rapidly in the second half of the year. For example, the percentage distribution of receipts between the first and second halves of the fiscal year for the years 1953 through 1958 ranged from 42-58 to 37-63. Fiscal 1959 receipts totaled \$22.7 billion through November and, on the basis of past experience, should approach \$28.4 billion for the first six months. For the full fiscal year, the 42-58 distribution experienced in fiscal 1958 would produce \$68 billion. But a 37-63 spread, such as occurred in fiscal 1955 and 1956, would yield more than \$76 billion.

One indication that receipts in fiscal 1959 may exceed \$68 billion is the fact that in November, for the first time since the beginning of the fiscal year, receipts of \$5 billion surpassed the \$4.8 billion collected in November, 1957. Thus it is still possible that the currently projected deficit of \$12.2 billion for fiscal 1959 may turn out to be substantially less.

As for fiscal 1960, the President's aim of holding expenditures at \$77 billion is based on several assumptions which appear contrary to the evidence at hand. Thus it seems unlikely that Congress will endorse cutbacks in civil benefits; new and larger programs, on the contrary, appear inevitable. Defense outlays are expected to continue upward, and interest costs are more likely to go up than down.

Revenues will depend on the rate of economic recovery and expansion. The \$69.1 billion in net receipts collected in fiscal 1958 was 16 percent of the \$440 billion GNP in 1957 -- down from the 17 percent of GNP which receipts represented in fiscal 1955, 1956 and 1957. If GNP attains \$475 billion in 1959, receipts of 16 percent would total \$76 billion, of 17 percent almost \$81 billion. Much depends on the behavior of corporate profits, since the Government collects half of these in taxes.

Debt Ceiling

The public debt limit, raised temporarily by Congress last August to \$288 billion, will revert to \$283 billion on June 30, 1959. At the end of November, when the cumulative deficit for fiscal 1959 had reached \$10.1 billion, the debt outstanding and subject to the limit stood at \$282.7 billion. Even if rising receipts fully match expenditures over the balance of the year, it will be impossible for the Treasury to carry on its mammoth refinancing operations under a \$283 billion ceiling in fiscal 1960.

This need for elbow room, no less than the fact that the Treasury is certain to incur a deficit of \$6 billion or more in the first half of fiscal 1960, will make it necessary for Secretary Robert B. Anderson to ask Congress for another increase in the debt limit. A boost to a minimum of \$290 billion will be necessary to cope with the situation that can be anticipated next December. But Anderson may be forced to accept part or all of the increase on a temporary basis.

Tax Reform

The prospect that Federal spending will continue at or above the \$80 billion level, plus uncertainty concerning receipts under the present tax structure, has prompted increasing talk of the need for tax reform. Rep. Wilbur D. Mills, Chairman of the tax-writing House Ways and

Means Committee, said Dec. 2 that "a great deal of revenue could be provided by a broadening of the tax base, a removal of some special deductions and preferences, and an increase in rates on some specially favored incomes." This final avenue, Mills indicated, might affect life insurance companies, mutual savings banks, and cooperatives.

The basic difficulty of tax reform was described Oct. 28 by Howard C. Petersen, vice chairman of the Committee for Economic Development. "Tax reform will have to be accomplished by reshuffling the tax burden among taxpayers and tax sources.... Politicians will not willingly shift taxes from one taxpaying group to another unless the voters insist that this be done. And the voters will not insist unless they understand why some people should pay more taxes than they now pay, and others less."

Mills doesn't believe "we are as yet prepared to make major revisions that satisfy the need of a broader tax base." He hopes in 1959 "to begin the selection of areas and topics for what will ultimately result in a broad-scale revision." In the meantime, however, Congress faces several specific tax and revenue decisions. A temporary formula for taxing life insurance companies expires in 1959 and must either be extended or revised. Congress must also act on the President's anticipated request for a sixth one-year postponement of scheduled reductions in the corporation income and certain excise tax rates. Other likely fiscal requests will call for an increase of 1 or 2 cents in the Federal excise tax on gasoline, to bolster the sagging Highway Trust Fund, and a raise in the first-class mail rate from 4 to 5 cents. All of these matters will provoke sharp debate.

Countering Inflation

The wholesale price index has remained relatively stable since March, the consumer price index since June. There is nevertheless widespread fear that deficit spending will set off a new wage-price spiral in the months ahead. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D Texas) acknowledged this rising concern Dec. 11 by proposing a "searching" inquiry into the causes and cures of inflation. He indicated that the probe will be undertaken by the Joint Economic Committee rather than the Senate Finance Committee, which made a half-hearted stab at the job in 1956.

Previous attempts to get at the "facts" of inflation have stumbled over the conflicting views of economists and their employers. Business lays the blame at labor's door, for pushing wage costs up faster than productivity increases. Labor charges that business is at fault for raising prices in order to finance expansion. Nor is there complete agreement on the impact of deficit spending. Any full-scale Congressional inquiry into inflation will encounter difficulty in reconciling the conflicting opinions and evidence that will be offered.

As indicated above, there is little immediate prospect that Congress will meet the threat of inflation by reducing Federal expenditures or raising taxes. Direct price-wage controls are even less likely. The sole legislative step now being pressed on Congress -- chiefly by business groups -- is to amend the Employment Act of 1946, adding to its objectives of "maximum employment, production and purchasing power" the goal of price stability. Even this limited step is opposed by labor spokesmen as a barrier to the goal of full employment.

CONGRESS LIKELY TO STRESS ECONOMIC AID

The Administration is expected to ask Congress for about \$4 billion for the Mutual Security Program for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1959. If the legislators follow their invariable practice in the past, they will cut several hundred million dollars from the request before completing action several months hence. In the intervening period, attention will focus on reappraisal of the operations and objectives of the catch-all, quasi-permanent foreign aid program. Following are details of studies already underway, recent trends in foreign aid, and major problem areas.

Draper Committee

President Eisenhower Nov. 24 appointed a special Committee to Study the Military Assistance Program. William H. Draper Jr., one-time Under Secretary of the Army, was named chairman of the group of nine former military commanders and civilian officials. In a letter to Draper, the President said he was "especially interested" in an appraisal of "the relative emphasis which should be given to military and economic programs, particularly in the less developed areas." He asked for a preliminary report "which can be taken into account in presenting the Mutual Security Program to the Congress at its next session."

Back of the President's action was a letter sent to him Aug. 25 by eight members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, including Chairman Theodore Francis Green (D R.I.). The Senators said there was a "serious distortion" in the relative weight given to military aid in the Mutual Security Program, and called for a reappraisal. The President replied Sept. 16, hinting that he would ask for more economic aid in 1959, but not at the expense of cuts in military aid.

Appointment of the Draper Committee recalled the fact that on Sept. 5, 1956, the President named seven Citizen Advisers on the Mutual Security Program, headed by Benjamin F. Fairless, and asked them for recommendations by March 1, 1957. Although the group's report on March 6 preceded the President's foreign aid message of May 21, there was little evidence that it had had any direct impact on the Administration's program. Whatever influence may be exerted by the Draper Committee is more likely to affect the 1960, rather than 1959, program, given the long lead-time required to put it together. The President's request for a preliminary report, expected by March 1, indicates in any event that the Administration's proposals are not likely to reach Congress before April 1. In 1958, by contrast, the President's message went up Feb. 19.

Congressional Reviews

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is engaged in a broad review of U.S. foreign policy, for which the Senate voted \$300,000 on July 31. In 1956, the Committee

likewise received \$300,000, to make "exhaustive studies" of the relation of foreign aid to the national interest. Most of those studies were made under contract by private individuals and research organizations. One in particular -- "The Objectives of United States Economic Assistance Programs," by the Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology -- was credited with playing a major influence in the subsequent creation of the Development Loan Fund.

The Committee's current study takes in a great deal more territory, and approaches the question of foreign aid only indirectly. But at least three of the 14 studies which the Committee announced Oct. 15 it will commission bear on the Mutual Security Program. These three are to cover "the implications of alternative U.S. policies toward the economic growth and political orientation of lesser developed countries;" "the interrelationship between military capabilities, strategic doctrine, and foreign policy;" and "the positive or negative impact of our membership in international organizations on the formulation and conduct of United States foreign policy."

The timing of the Senate Committee's project is such that it is even less likely than the Draper Committee's work to influence the course of foreign aid legislation in 1959. None of the projected studies had been commissioned as of Jan. 2, 1959; the Committee's own final report is not expected before 1960.

Somewhat earlier action is expected on a collateral study of U.S. relations with Latin America, for which the Senate voted \$150,000, also on July 31. This is in the hands of a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee headed by Sen. Wayne Morse (D Ore.), and will involve hearings in 1959. Morse is personally concerned over military assistance provided to the nations of Latin America, although the total amount involved is a small part of the aid program. At his behest, Congress in 1958 amended the Mutual Security Act to provide that "internal security requirements shall not normally be the basis for military assistance programs to American Republics."

Across the Capitol, Acting Chairman Thomas E. Morgan of the House Foreign Affairs Committee Oct. 16 announced appointment of a special Subcommittee for Review of the Mutual Security Programs. Headed by Morgan, the Subcommittee held closed hearings Dec. 2-13, after which Morgan said "I think we're spending too much money on military aid." This view was echoed by two other Subcommittee members, Reps. Clement J. Zablocki (D Wis.) and Walter H. Judd (R Minn.).

Like the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the House Foreign Affairs Committee last undertook to "re-appraise" the foreign aid program in 1956. Former Rep. James P. Richards (D S.C.), then Chairman of the Committee, drafted a report which generally endorsed the need for foreign aid but concluded that funds should "be reduced rather than increased."

Trends in Aid

Although Administration requests and Congressional appropriations have fluctuated somewhat in recent years, actual expenditures under the Mutual Security Program, as well as the size of the unexpended balance of available funds, have dropped steadily since 1953. The table shows, for the fiscal years 1953 through 1958, the executive branch appropriation request, actual appropriations adjusted for transfers and reimbursements, expenditures, and the unexpended balance at the close of the fiscal year.

Status of Funds, 1953-58

(in millions of dollars)

	Request	Approp.	Expenditures	Balance
1953	\$6,493	\$6,012	\$5,720	\$10,064
1954	5,125	4,724	4,876	9,565
1955	3,439	2,805	4,250	7,918
1956	3,267	2,712	4,205	6,361
1957	4,860	3,772	3,958	6,125
1958	3,382	2,767	3,750	5,141

The Mutual Security Program requires a new authorization, as well as an appropriation, every year. Congress invariably authorizes less than is requested, then appropriates less than it authorizes. In 1958, President Eisenhower asked Congress to authorize new MSP funds of \$3.3 billion, and to appropriate that amount plus \$625 million authorized in 1957 for the Development Loan Fund. The final appropriation for the entire program was about \$3.3 billion -- \$644 million less than requested. Since the appropriation was less than the amount of expenditures projected for the current 1959 fiscal year, the unexpended balance of funds available on June 30, 1959 -- what is commonly called the "pipeline" -- will be smaller.

The major components of the program, as presently set forth in the law, together with the amounts appropriated in 1958, are as follows: military assistance, \$1.5 billion; defense support, \$750 million; Development Loan Fund, \$400 million; technical cooperation, \$150 million; special assistance, \$200 million; and the President's contingency fund, \$155 million.

All aid other than military assistance is classed as economic aid. The decline in total expenditures for mutual security from 1953 through 1958 was accounted for largely by a drop in military assistance, which fell from almost \$4 billion in 1953 to \$2.2 billion in 1958. Economic aid in the fiscal years 1956-58 was stabilized at about \$1.6 billion a year. Of the unexpended balance of \$5.1 billion available on June 30, 1958 (excluding the \$3.3 billion in new funds appropriated in August), \$3.4 billion was for military assistance, \$1.7 billion for economic aid.

Major Issues

The inevitability of some waste in such a large program, together with the difficulty of showing value received for all of the various programs lumped under MSP, assures the continuance of efforts by some Members of Congress to cut the program in one or all of its phases. But for the majority of Members who see no possibility of putting an end to foreign aid, the drop in the program's unexpended balance from \$10 billion to \$5 billion raises a problem. If appropriations continue to fall below

expenditures, the "pipeline" will begin to dry up, making it extremely difficult to operate the program with any continuity and foresight. Thus there is a strong incentive for Congress to take a hand in establishing priorities within the over-all program, for which expenditures are likely to continue at the \$3-to-\$4 billion level.

Much more than the financing problem, however, is involved in the issue of military vs. economic aid. Military assistance levels for individual countries are secret; only regional figures are made public. Of the \$1.5 billion programmed by country for fiscal 1959, \$392 million was allotted to Europe, \$448 million to the Near East and South Asia, and \$606 million to the Far East. According to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, almost one-half of the \$1.5 billion was assigned to four countries -- Greece and Turkey in the Near East, and Korea and Formosa in the Far East.

As the Aug. 25 letter of Sen. Green to the President suggests, there is growing concern over the logic of maintaining large conventional forces of nationals in such areas as Korea and Formosa, at a time when strategic planning is increasingly dominated by long-range weapons of mass destruction. There is the further concern that, in the total conflict with the Communist world, the relatively greater place given in the Mutual Security Program to military assistance than to economic aid, particularly for development purposes, is a serious handicap in advancing U.S. interests among the uncommitted nations.

Outlook

Supporters of these views pin their hopes on the Development Loan Fund, established in 1957 as the medium for providing economic assistance on favorable terms to the underdeveloped nations. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee recommended starting DLF with an appropriation of \$500 million, plus authority to borrow \$750 million a year for two years, or a total of \$2 billion. But Congress voted only \$300 million in 1957, and another \$400 million in 1958. The Fund, which was incorporated in 1958 and operates independently of the International Cooperation Administration, expects to commit the last of the \$700 million early in 1959, and the Administration is planning to ask for an immediate appropriation of \$225 million (the balance of the amount authorized in 1957) for the rest of the fiscal year.

The principal question to be decided in 1959 is whether to give the DLF a continuing authorization. Under Secretary of State C. Douglas Dillon favors an authorization of \$1 billion for five years. Whatever the Administration finally decides to ask of Congress, there will be strong pressures exerted for and against placing the Fund on a more stable basis -- and thereby less amenable to the will of Congress.

If the Administration decides to seek an increase for the Fund, while at the same time holding to the present level for military assistance and the closely-allied category of defense support (of which 70 percent goes to Korea, Formosa, Vietnam, and Turkey), it appears more likely that Congress will enlarge the economic side of the program at the expense of the military side, than that it will do the reverse. Much will depend, however, on the unpredictable turns in the international situation in 1959.

FARM PROBLEMS TOUGHER THAN EVER

Year-end reports by the Department of Agriculture that total crop production in 1958 reached the highest point in American history and farmers' realized net income rose 20 percent over 1957 would lead the casual observer to conclude that American agriculture was in fine condition.

It is not. And the 86th Congress, like all its recent predecessors, will be forced to seek ways to help American farmers cope with the problems they face.

Economic Situation

Most important of those problems has been the inability of important segments of American agriculture to find markets for their vastly increased output.

In 1958, the number of farmers was at an all-time low and the number of planted acres was smaller than it had been in over 40 years. Nevertheless, the total crop yield was the largest on record.

Yield-per-acre records were achieved in 14 different field crops, which together accounted for 96 percent of the total harvested acreage.

Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Marvin L. McLain Dec. 8 said, "Today we are producing almost 50 percent more on our farms than we did before World War II, and we are doing it with about 30 percent fewer man-hours of work."

Consumption of farm commodities has not kept pace with the expanded production, despite the growth of the domestic population and successful efforts to expand farm exports.

The resulting surpluses have had two serious effects:

1. They have depressed prices in the market place, subjecting the individual farmer to the "squeeze" of declining prices and rising costs of production.

In 1958, this "squeeze" was eased by a combination of circumstances that is not likely to be repeated in 1959. Consumer demand remained strong and farm prices were firm during a recession that slowed the steady increase in farmers' costs. A long drought ended, swelling farm output, and while Government surpluses increased, so did Government payments to farmers.

In 1959, the market situation in such key commodities as hogs is not expected to be nearly so favorable to farmers. Some Government programs, like the acreage reserve payments, will stop altogether and price supports on most major crops will be lower. Agriculture Department economists foresee a 5-to-10 percent decrease in farm income.

2. The surpluses have made Government efforts to support farm prices and remove surpluses from the market place increasingly expensive.

Agriculture Department expenditures for fiscal 1959 were revised upward from about \$5 billion to an estimated \$6.9 billion, with most of the increase attributed to price support operations on the expanded 1958 crop.

The size of the Agriculture budget in itself has become an argument against the existing programs. Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D,N.M.), himself a former Secretary

of Agriculture, Nov. 25 said the best way Congress could get farm programs on a sound basis was to "reduce the fiscal 1960 appropriation for the Department...to a flat \$2 billion." Benson Nov. 26 said he disagreed with Anderson, but said he was doing his best to cut back his department's spending plans.

Wheat Problem

Congress in 1958 enacted slightly modified Administration proposals for new price support programs for cotton, rice, corn and other feed grains. (1958 Almanac p. 269) There is dispute whether the new programs, involving lowered price supports and relaxed production controls, will actually save the Government money in 1959, but the desire for such economy was a powerful factor in their approval.

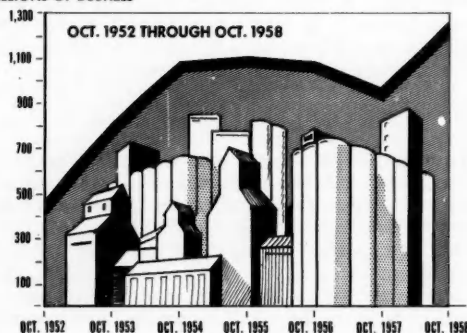
The largest farm problem facing the new Congress is wheat. When this year's record wheat crop comes to market, an estimated 500 million bushels will be added to the existing surplus supply, increasing the total surplus to about 1.3 billion bushels. With \$3 billion of Federal funds already tied up in the wheat surplus alone and storage charges costing upward of \$500,000 a day, the economy-minded Administration is expected to put an "urgent" tag on legislation dealing with the wheat problem.

The Administration proposal is expected to include a sharp reduction in wheat acreage allotments, perhaps from the present 55 million acres to 40 million, along with a reduction in price supports, either to 60 percent of parity or 90 percent of the average market price for the three previous years. This approach is supported, generally, by the American Farm Bureau Federation.

The major alternative, backed by the National Assn. of Wheat Growers, the Grange and the Farmers Union, is some form of two-price system, which would give farmers high parity payments on domestic wheat sales but permit the rest of the crop to go onto the world market at world market prices. This scheme is opposed by the Administration.

HOW WHEAT SURPLUS HAS GROWN

MILLIONS OF BUSHELS





Presidential Report

ROCKEFELLER RESIGNATION, REPORT ON GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

Nelson A. Rockefeller, New York Governor-elect, Dec. 22 resigned as chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Government Organization and submitted a report summarizing the committee's activities since its establishment in 1953. President Eisenhower accepted Rockefeller's resignation Dec. 29. Following are the texts of their exchange of letters and the advisory committee report:

ROCKEFELLER LETTER

Dec. 22, 1958

Dear Mr. President:

In view of the fact that in the near future I will take office in New York State, I hereby submit my resignation with the greatest regret as chairman and member of your Advisory Committee on Government Organization, such resignation to be effective upon acceptance by you.

I have the honor to transmit the attached report summarizing the principal activities of the committee since it was established by you on Jan. 24, 1953.

I am grateful for this opportunity to have had a small part in your Administration's programs to improve the organization and management of the Executive Branch of the Government. Your accomplishments in this field have been truly outstanding. Throughout its existence, the committee has worked in close association with the director and staff of the Bureau of the Budget, and has had the full cooperation of the members of the Cabinet, the White House staff and other Executive Branch officials with whom it has consulted. It has been a great privilege to have served these six years with Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower and Dr. Arthur S. Flemming in assisting you in this important work to which you have devoted so much time and interest.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,
NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER,
Chairman

PRESIDENT'S REPLY

Dec. 29, 1958

Dear Nelson:

I recognize, of course, that your new responsibilities as Governor of the state of New York will not allow you to serve longer as a member and chairman of my Advisory Committee on Government Organization. Accordingly, I am accepting your resignation, effective Dec. 31. In doing so, I express again my deep gratitude for the strong support that you and the other members of the committee have provided directly to me and for the lasting and valuable service you have performed for the Government and Nation.

As you point out, and as both the first and second Hoover Commissions have emphasized by their recommendations, governmental organization and reorganization must ever command the attention and efforts of able Administration officials. In looking at the summary report you enclosed with your letter, I am reminded of some of the first discussions we had on these matters six years ago, and am happy to note that the accomplishments in the meantime have been very impressive. Certainly, these major items well represent the intensive effort made by department and agency heads and executive office officials, including particularly those of the Bureau of the Budget and the advisory committee.

I trust you will long recall with deep satisfaction the important contribution you made in the development and far-reaching discussions of these matters. Although you must now break off this activity, I know we shall continue to benefit from your work as we endeavor to move ahead with organization measures that remain to be accomplished during the coming years. Again my heartfelt thanks and personal appreciation of your very able service.

Sincerely,
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

ROCKEFELLER REPORT

From the first time it met, three months after it was established, the committee was in almost daily session. During this time it had a major part in the development of the 10 reorganization plans which were transmitted to Congress and became law in 1953. In November 1953, following a summer recess, the committee appointed a full-time staff director and a small staff. Since that time, there have been 65 committee meetings, or on an average of once a month. In addition the committee members have participated in frequent informal consultations. Throughout its existence the committee has met with the President on many occasions and also has attended Cabinet meetings when Government organization items were on the agenda.

On the following pages are listed the major steps which have been taken within the past six years to improve Executive Branch organization and management, in the development of which the President's Advisory Committee on Government Organization has participated actively. These actions were accomplished by means of 14 reorganization plans, as well as by legislation and executive action. In the course of this undertaking, the advisory committee took into account and recommended action with respect to those recommendations of the Hoover Commission which were concerned with matters of Government organization.

As set forth by the President, the guiding objectives of the committee have recognized that organization and management of the Executive Branch of the Government is an unending task requiring constant vigilance. Its size and scope and the complexities of its responsibilities require that the organization of the Executive Branch be kept under continuing scrutiny, to meet changing requirements and to assure adequate and efficient staff support to the President at all times.

Therefore, the advisory committee, in addition to participating in developing the organizational improvements listed in this report, has been maintaining a close and continuing study, looking toward strengthening the organizational structure concerned with other vitally important areas. It can be anticipated that there will be opportunity within the next two years for the Administration to achieve still further major organizational improvements.

A. FOREIGN AFFAIRS ACTIVITIES

1. Reorganization within Export-Import Bank (Reorganization Plan No. 5, 1953)
2. Establishment of Foreign Operations Administration (FOA) replacing Mutual Security Agency. (Reorganization Plan No. 7, 1953)
3. Establishment of U.S. Information Agency. (Reorganization Plan No. 1, 1953)
4. Establishment of the Council on Foreign Economic Policy. (Executive action, 1954)
5. Establishment of International Cooperation Administration within the Department of State -- replacing FOA (Executive Order No. 10610, 1955)

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6. Reviewing roles of International Cooperation Administration and Atomic Energy Commission in foreign atoms-for-peace program (1957).

B. DEFENSE ACTIVITIES

1. Establishment of Office of Defense Mobilization (ODM) in the Executive Office of the President, replacing the former ODM and the National Security Resources Board. (Reorganization Plan No. 3, 1953)

2. Reorganization of Department of Defense (Reorganization Plan No. 6, 1953).

3. Further reorganization of the Department of Defense, (Public Law 85-599, 1958).

4. Establishment of Office and Civil and Defense Mobilization merging ODM and the Federal Civil Defense Administration (Reorganization Plan No. 1, 1958).

C. AVIATION AND SPACE ACTIVITIES

1. Transfer to the Civil Aeronautics Board, from Post Office Department, of airmail subsidy payments. (Reorganization Plan No. 10, 1953.)

2. Initiation of aviation facilities studies by Harding group (1955).

3. Establishment of Airways Modernization Board. (Public Law 85-133, 1957)

4. Establishment of Federal Aviation Agency, merging AMB and the Civil Aeronautics Administration. (Public Law 85-726, 1958)

5. Establishment of National Aeronautics and Space Agency, replacing the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics. (Public Law 85-568, 1958)

D. EXECUTIVE OFFICE AND INTERDEPARTMENTAL ACTIVITIES

1. Reorganization of Council of Economic Advisers. (Reorganization Plan No. 9, 1953)

2. Establishment of and consultation with Presidential Advisory Committee on Water Resources Policy. (Executive action, 1954)

3. Establishment of and consultation with Presidential Advisory Committee on Transport Policy and Organization. (Executive action 1954)

4. Establishment of and consultation with Presidential Advisory Committee on Telecommunications Policy and Organization. (Executive action 1954)

5. Establishment of Office of Presidential Science Adviser and President's Science Advisory Committee. (Executive action 1957)

E. OTHER DEPARTMENTAL AND AGENCY ACTIVITIES

1. Establishment of Department of Health, Education and Welfare. (Reorganization Plan No. 1, 1953)

2. Reorganization within Department of Agriculture. (Reorganization Plan No. 2, 1953)

3. Reorganization within Department of Justice. (Reorganization Plan No. 4, 1953)

4. Establishment of Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, replacing War Claims Commission and International Claims Commission of the United States. (Reorganization Plan No. 1, 1954)

5. Liquidation of certain affairs of Reconstruction Finance Corporation. (Reorganization Plan No. 2, 1954)

6. Reconstruction Finance Corporation abolished. (Reorganization Plan No. 1, 1957)

7. Transfer of supervision over St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation. (Executive Order 10771, 1958)

F. PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

1. Consultation in development of career personnel systems for overseas personnel of ICA and USIA (1955 to date).

2. Establishment of Office of Personnel Adviser to the President (Executive Order 10729, 1957).

3. Establishment of and consultation with Career Executive Committee. (Executive Order 10724, 1957)

4. Establishment of Career Executive Board. (Executive Order 10758, 1958)

SCIENCE COUNCIL ESTABLISHMENT

The White House Dec. 28 announced that President Eisenhower, acting on a recommendation of his Science Advisory Committee, had approved the establishment of a new Federal Council for Science and Technology. Following is the text of the announcement:

The President has approved the establishment of a new Federal Council for Science and Technology to promote closer cooperation among Federal agencies in planning their research and development programs. Acting on a recommendation of his Science Advisory Committee, the President stated, "It is my hope that the new council will improve the planning and management of Government research programs and will facilitate the resolution of common problems and promote greater interagency cooperation."

The proposal to establish the council was presented to the President as part of a broad program to strengthen U.S. science in many important areas. This program, formulated after 10 months of intensive deliberations, was outlined in a report, "Strengthening American Science," submitted to the President by Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology and Chairman of the President's Science Advisory Committee. Noting that this year's Federal money will pay for about one-half of all the scientific research, engineering, and development carried out in the U.S., the report emphasizes that the size and importance of these programs exert a powerful shaping influence on all of the Nation's science and technology.

The report addresses itself first, to the fundamental problems inherent in government planning and management of a vast and highly diversified research and development effort, and calls for the establishment of a new Federal Council for Science and Technology. It considers ways and means of strengthening the Government's own laboratories and strengthening and improving policies with respect to government-sponsored research in non-government institutions. The report takes special note of the rapid growth in the size of instruments and special facilities required for modern scientific research. The committee also stressed the importance of the role of private support in the Nation's total scientific effort. "The importance of strong and continued private support of science can scarcely be overemphasized," Dr. Killian observed. "As in the past, private foundations -- either by operating facilities of their own or by supporting university research -- can move with a speed and boldness that government will always find hard to imitate. It is vitally important, therefore, that Government science policy does not discourage private support of science, and indeed, takes pains to encourage more it."

Specifically the committee recommends a broad program as follows:

1. The establishment of a Federal Council for Science and Technology. The committee, noting that there is still lacking an effective instrument of government to promote closer cooperation among Federal agencies in planning and managing their programs in science and technology and in achieving their coordination, recommended establishing a new Federal Council for Science and Technology with broad responsibilities for advising the Special Assistant to the President, as to policies which would improve the planning and management of government programs, would facilitate the resolution of common problems, and would promote greater interagency cooperation. The Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology would serve as chairman of the council. In considering the frequently made suggestion that the Government's numerous scientific and technical operations be brought together in a single department -- presumably under a secretary of Cabinet rank, the committee stated that it is important to be mindful that many of the scientific and technical activities of existing departments are directly related to the missions of these departments and could not be satisfactorily administered by a single agency far removed from the problems that are supposed to be solved.

2. A series of steps designed to improve the administration and management of research in Government laboratories. The report recommends that each department or agency with scattered

scientific and technical interests should designate a representative to provide unity and understanding at the policy level and to serve as its representative on the Council for Science and Technology. The report commented that there were excellent private and public laboratories working on programs for the Federal Government and the choice between these two types of operations should be based on careful judgments of where the work can best be accomplished. It emphasized that Government laboratories are vital national assets and it is important to understand those factors which can improve their morale and add significantly to their capabilities.

3. A critical examination of policies and practices with respect to Government-sponsored research in non-government institutions. The report is concerned with ways by which greater emphasis can be placed on the quality of the Nation's scientific research conducted outside the Government. Noting that the fraction of funds spent by Federal agencies in private institutions is expected to rise to about 66 percent in 1962, the committee asserted that the Government has a serious responsibility not to divert these institutions from their own unique functions and missions which are vital to American life and culture. The committee called for a continuation of the project system of grants and contracts, but noted that additional methods are needed in order to meet the full range of scientific opportunities in the years ahead. Program grants or institutional grants which would permit more effective research in broad areas of science should be encouraged, and contract commitments should be extended beyond the usual one year to permit sensible planning and more efficient expenditure of funds.

4. A series of steps designed to emphasize the importance of planning to meet the capital needs of science. Following heavy postwar expenditures for new machines, instruments and facilities for doing research, new capital funds rapidly diminished to such a degree that lack of instruments and facilities is beginning to handicap our national scientific effort in both Government and private laboratories. These deficiencies are being further aggravated by the rapid progress occurring in the improvement and inventions of the instruments of science themselves. The committee urges that thoughtful and careful planning be given to the capital needs of science by both private and public sponsors of research if the Nation is to have the facilities it needs.

5. Reaffirmation of the importance of private support of research together with suggestions to foundations and other private sources of funds. Growth of Federal support of science in recent years has been marked by some hesitancy on the part of corporations and private foundations to maintain the level of their contributions to scientific research in academic and other non-profit institutions. It would be most unfortunate if this hesitance were to spread or continue when there are growing opportunities for private philanthropy to contribute immeasurably to the strength and freedom of American science. Private sources of funds have special opportunities in supporting imaginative and audacious research that Government may not always support.

The Committee's report resulted from the work of a Panel which comprised the following members: Dr. Emanuel R. Piore, director of research, IBM, chairman; Dr. Robert F. Bacher, professor of physics, California Institute of Technology; Dr. William O. Baker, vice president (research), Bell Telephone Laboratories; Dr. Caryl P. Haskins, president, Carnegie Institution of Washington; Dr. George B. Kistiakowsky, professor of chemistry, Harvard University; Dr. Albert W. Tucker, professor of mathematics, Princeton University; Dr. Alan T. Waterman, director, National Science Foundation; and Dr. Paul A. Weiss, Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. In submitting its findings, the committee stated that no one should infer from the report that U.S. science is beset with fatal flaws or deficiencies, but it emphasized that continued leadership in science will require more diligence and foresight on the part of Government -- as the largest supporter of research -- to see that its influence on U.S. science is informed and guided by wise and coherent policies.

OTHER STATEMENTS

Other recent public statements by President Eisenhower: Dec. 23 -- Christmas message on world peace delivered at the Christmas Pageant of Peace ceremonies in Washington, D.C. Dec. 29 -- Proclamation calling for observation of 1959 as the Abraham Lincoln Sesquicentennial Year, commemorating the 150th anniversary of Lincoln's birth.



Pressures On Congress

NAACP REPORT

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, Dec. 31 in a year-end report to members said "the segregationists lost ground during 1958." To buttress his view, Wilkins cited: the Supreme Court's Sept. 29, 1958, reaffirmation and clarification of its original integration ruling (1958 Almanac p. 287); an increase in the number of integrated schools; expressed support of integration by religious groups; criticism of housing segregation by the Commission on Race and Housing; stepped-up activity by the Justice Department in the civil rights field, and the election victories of Sens. Albert Gore (D Tenn.) and Ralph Yarborough (D Texas) over segregationists.

On the negative side, Wilkins listed the wave of bombings; defiance of the Civil Rights Commission by Alabama voting officials; and such legal action in the South against Negroes as the arrest of three Birmingham, Ala., clergymen on suspicion they planned to organize a boycott against segregated buses in that city.

MEANY ON NEW CONGRESS

George Meany, AFL-CIO president, Dec. 31 said labor in 1959 would act under the banner of "what is good for America is good for organized labor." He said Congress "must act swiftly to eliminate corruption in the labor-management field and injustice in labor-management relations." He also called for elimination of special tax privileges but did not specify which ones he had in mind.

FRIENDS COMMITTEE PROGRAM

The Friends Committee on National Legislation Dec. 30 recommended the new Congress: ratify an international treaty to end atom bomb tests should such a treaty be concluded; work toward general disarmament; "encourage" the Administration to recognize Red China; end the peacetime draft; revise Senate Rule 22 so that a majority of the Senate membership could shut off debate; revise the rules concerning the House Rules Committee; strengthen the Civil Rights Act of 1957; enact legislation guaranteeing Americans the right to travel to such currently restricted areas as Red China; improve the lot of the American Indians; authorize Federal money to build public schools; admit Hawaii as the 50th state.

API OPPOSES GAS TAX HIKE

The American Petroleum Institute Dec. 27 came out against any increase in the Federal tax on gasoline. Frank M. Porter, API president, said there would be no need to increase gasoline taxes to pay for road building if all the money from the current tax went for that purpose. He said of the \$3.6 billion collected from the tax in fiscal 1958, \$2.1 billion went into the highway trust fund and \$1.5 billion went into the Treasury's general fund.

HEW FUNDS

Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Arthur S. Flemming Dec. 30 said President Eisenhower's \$77 billion fiscal 1960 budget would include over \$3 billion in appropriations for HEW and would therefore be "considerably in excess" of HEW's fiscal 1959 appropriation, to Dec. 30, of \$2,970,033,000. Flemming said, however, that HEW would ask Congress for supplementary fiscal 1959 funds for such major programs as the national defense education program, the social security public assistance program and enforcement of food additives laws. He said these, if granted, would make final fiscal 1959 appropriations about 1.6 percent higher than requests for fiscal 1960.

Flemming said the fiscal 1960 budget would ask increases over fiscal 1959 levels for public assistance, air and water pollution programs, food and drug law enforcement, vocational rehabilitation, radiological and educational research and the defense education program. Decreases, he said, would be asked for hospital construction, waste treatment works and medical and dental research programs.

OASI FINANCING

The 13-member Advisory Council on Social Security Financing, in a Jan. 2 report following a year-long study, said the financing of the old-age, survivors and disability insurance program under the social security law was "sound, and, based on the best estimates available, the contribution schedule now in the law makes adequate provision for meeting both short-range and long-range costs." (1958 Almanac p. 156)

The advisory council said, however, it anticipated that further changes in the social security program would "be needed as changes occur in the labor force, wage levels and doubtless in other factors" and recommended "periodic scrutiny" of all factors affecting the program's financing, specifically the maximum earnings base for determining benefits and tax contributions.

BUDGET REACTION

President Eisenhower's Dec. 22 announcement of his plan to submit to Congress a "balanced budget" of \$77 billion for fiscal 1960 brought mixed reactions from Members of Congress and other public figures. (1958 Weekly Report p. 1570)

Chairman Clarence Cannon (D Mo.) of the House Appropriations Committee Dec. 23 said he was "gratified" by the President's plan but "quite dubious about it." Chairman Harry Flood Byrd of the Senate Finance Committee Dec. 24 said the President's budget was a "step in the right direction," adding that apparently the President was counting on a substantial increase in 1959 tax collections to achieve the balance.

Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D Pa.) Dec. 23 termed the budget estimates "a cheap-skate policy," and said instead of cutting Federal spending more than \$2 billion there should be increases of \$5 billion-\$6 billion. Clark

said the additional money to balance the budget could be raised by plugging tax loopholes.

Senate Democratic Whip Mike Mansfield (Mont.) Dec. 23 said he saw little possibility of Congress granting either the gas tax or postal rate increases proposed by Mr. Eisenhower to increase revenues.

Dr. Gabriel S. Hauge, the President's former special assistant for economic affairs, told a Dec. 28 economists' meeting that current budget processes were "nearly obsolete and meaningless" because of the "virtually uncontrollable character of expenditures once certain programs are launched." He urged economists to undertake budget reform studies.

Facts on Alaska

The 86th Congress will be the first since the 63rd to welcome Members from a new state. Alaska, to be proclaimed the 49th state of the Union on Jan. 3, is the first state to be admitted since Arizona was made a state in 1912. Following are some pertinent facts on the new state:

Capital: Juneau.

Area: 586,400 square miles.

Population: 206,000 (includes about 35,000 Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts, called natives).

Transferred to the United States: On March 30, 1867, a treaty, negotiated by William H. Seward, Secretary of State under President Andrew Johnson, was signed with Russia. U.S. bought Alaska for \$7.2 million; purchase was called "Seward's Folly" by opponents. Transfer took place Oct. 18, 1867, at Sitka. Alaska was called a district until Aug. 24, 1912, when it became an Organized Territory.

Statehood Approved by Alaskans: 1946 by a 9,630 to 6,822 vote.

State Constitution Approved by Voters: April 24, 1956, when a "Tennessee Plan" was adopted to promote statehood. Under the plan, Alaskans elected "Senators" and a "Representative" to come to Congress.

Statehood Approved by Congress: June 30, 1958, when the Senate passed a House-passed bill (HR 7999) providing for Alaska statehood.

Statehood Approved by the President: July 7, 1958, when HR 7999 became Public Law 508, 85th Congress.

Primary Elections: Alaskans Aug. 28 selected their candidates for state-wide office and voted to accept statehood under the terms set down in PL 508.

Congressional Elections: On Nov. 25, 1958, Alaskans elected William A. Egan (D) as Governor. They elected E.L. (Bob) Bartlett (D) and Ernest Gruening (D) to serve Senate terms A and B, respectively. The length of the terms to be determined by lot, could be any one of three combinations -- two and four years, two and six years or four and six years. Ralph J. Rivers (D) was elected Alaska's Representative at large.

DEFENSE CRITIQUE

The National Planning Assn., in a Dec. 29 statement, said there were "serious limitations and lags in United States defense concepts and programs," and that, "desirable as a balanced or approximately balanced budget is in normal times, to seek it above all else in the circumstances of today may prove the prelude to disaster." The statement, "An Adequate Military Shield for U.S. Foreign Policy," was issued by the International Committee of NPA, a private, bipartisan organization.

The statement said studies had shown that the U.S. "could afford substantially higher budgetary expenditures if national economic policies were adopted which would enable the American economy to achieve more of its truly enormous growth potential." It said neither the "present state of preparedness nor that contemplated for a few years hence under present programming will suffice," and that, "with little less than national survival at stake, it would be a critical mistake to make a fetish of arbitrary budgetary limitations." The statement warned that if present trends continued, "there is the very real possibility that the Soviet bloc will within a few years have a decisive military advantage over the U.S. and its allies."

Capitol Briefs

YORK APPOINTMENT

President Eisenhower Dec. 24, 1958, appointed Dr. Herbert Frank York, 37, as Director of Defense Research and Engineering in the Department of Defense. He was sworn in Dec. 30. The post, created by the 1958 Defense Reorganization Act, ranks immediately below the three service secretaries and carries a salary of \$22,000 a year. York will be principal adviser to the Secretary of Defense on scientific and technical matters and also will supervise all research and engineering activities within the Defense Department. York had been serving since March 1958 as chief scientist of the Advanced Research Projects Agency. York's new appointment is subject to Senate confirmation in 1959. (1958 Almanac p. 133)

OIL IMPORT QUOTAS EXTENSION

President Eisenhower Dec. 23 approved a two-month extension, to Feb. 28, of current quotas under the voluntary oil import program. The extension was recommended by the President's Special Committee to Investigate Crude Oil Imports pending its presentation of "certain recommendations for revisions or changes" in the voluntary import program. Under the existing arrangement, oil imports are limited to 713,000 barrels a day for companies east of the Rocky Mountains and 221,100 barrels a day for the West Coast. The program, which originally would have expired Dec. 31, also set import quotas on unfinished gasoline and other unfinished oils. (1958 Weekly Report p. 1337, 1393)

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

The White House Dec. 30 announced that President Eisenhower would deliver his State of the Union message to Congress Jan. 9. White House Press Secretary James C. Hagerty said "fiscal responsibility" would be one of the major themes of the address.

CQ

Political Notes

CLOUDED ELECTIONS

As the 86th Congress prepared to convene, the elections of three Representatives and two Governors were still clouded by controversy. The unsettled races:

ARKANSAS 5TH DISTRICT -- The House Special Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures Dec. 17, 1958, unanimously recommended the House Administration Elections Subcommittee investigate the victory of write-in candidate Dale Alford over Rep. Brooks Hays (D). On a 3-2 vote, the committee recommended that Alford not be seated pending outcome of the investigation. (1958 Weekly Report p. 1538)

The House Jan. 7 will settle the question by sustaining or overruling a move from the floor to prevent Alford from taking his oath of office. House Democratic Whip Carl Albert (D Okla.) Dec. 30 predicted Alford would be seated.

A separate question is Alford's claim to recognition as a Democrat, which, if established, would entitle him to committee assignments and patronage from the Democrats. Rep. John A. Blatnik (D Minn.) Dec. 29 said he would move at the House Democratic caucus Jan. 6 to deny Alford recognition as a Democrat, on the grounds that he had opposed the regular Democratic nominee. Blatnik said Alford should be seated as an Independent. But Blatnik said Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn (D Texas) had written him it would be a serious matter to deny Alford a place in the Democratic caucus. (See p. 1)

KANSAS 6TH DISTRICT -- The Special Committee Dec. 17 recommended a full investigation of the election victory of Rep. Wint Smith (R Kan.) over Elmo J. Mahoney (D). (1958 Weekly Report p. 1538)

INDIANA 4TH DISTRICT -- Aides to Rep. E. Ross Adair (R Ind.) Dec. 31 said they expected a formal complaint to be filed with the House by backers of W. Robert Fleming (D), who was defeated by Adair in November.

NEBRASKA GOVERNOR -- Ralph G. Brooks (D) is slated to be sworn in as Governor, but Republicans still are weighing the possibility of seeking a recount on behalf of defeated Gov. Victor E. Anderson (R).

VERMONT GOVERNOR -- Both parties have agreed on the desirability of obtaining an early recount of the ballots that gave Lt. Gov. Robert T. Stafford (R) a 918-vote victory over Bernard J. Leddy (D). But the mechanics of the operation have not been worked out.

RECORD VOTE CAST

The largest non-Presidential vote in history was cast in the 1958 elections, according to an Associated Press tabulation of official returns. A total of 47,875,315 persons voted, exceeding the previous off-year high of 1954 by 3,427,819. The figures were obtained by totalling the highest vote -- whether for Senator, Governor, combined House or referendum -- in every state except Alaska.

The total vote for House candidates was 45,677,502. Democrats received 25,773,910 votes, or 56.4 percent; Republicans, 19,722,906, or 43.2 percent; and others, 180,686, or 0.4 percent.

The Democratic margin over Republicans was 6,051,004 in the whole country and 3,672,914 outside the South.

State breakdowns of the House vote are shown in the chart on p. 38.

TOTAL VOTE FOR HOUSE SEATS IN 1958

The following chart shows the total number of votes received by the Democratic and Republican parties throughout the Nation in the 1958 House elections. Alaska is not included. Figures for each state and for the Nation as a whole were computed by combining all the votes cast for each party in the House contests in each state. Figures are final official figures except for Arkansas and Colorado, according to the Associated Press.

State	Dem. Vote	GOP Vote	Other Vote	Total Vote	Dem. Percent	GOP Percent	Other Percent
ALABAMA	234,712	6,050	--	240,762	97.5%	2.5%	--
ARIZONA	139,467	138,099	--	277,566	50.2	49.8	--
ARKANSAS	207,683	--	30,739	238,422	87.1	--	12.9%
CALIFORNIA	2,971,862	1,981,276	--	4,953,138	60.0	40.0	--
COLORADO	309,873	222,979	--	532,852	58.2	41.8	--
CONNECTICUT	519,185	449,130	--	968,315	53.6	46.4	--
DELAWARE	76,797	76,099	--	152,856	50.2	49.8	--
FLORIDA	354,942	139,419	--	494,361	71.8	28.2	--
GEORGIA	158,636	55	17	158,708	100.0	--	--
IDAHO	124,297	114,731	--	239,028	52.0	48.0	--
ILLINOIS	1,754,248	1,368,320	--	3,122,568	56.2	43.8	--
INDIANA	921,863	798,782	819	1,721,464	53.6	46.4	--
IOWA	417,127	412,798	--	829,925	50.3	49.7	--
KANSAS	359,763	354,732	3,199	717,694	50.1	49.5	0.4
KENTUCKY	309,771	164,425	1,646	475,842	65.1	34.6	0.3
LOUISIANA	177,963	4,160	1	182,124	97.7	2.3	--
MAINE	146,084	128,606	--	274,690	53.2	46.8	--
MARYLAND	463,627	248,023	--	711,650	65.1	34.9	--
MASSACHUSETTS	1,021,174	754,374	549	1,776,097	57.5	42.5	--
MICHIGAN	1,193,696	1,054,854	5,260	2,253,810	53.0	46.8	0.2
MINNESOTA	596,257	534,870	--	1,131,127	52.7	47.3	--
MISSISSIPPI	61,464	--	--	61,464	100.0	--	--
MISSOURI	736,877	429,940	--	1,166,817	63.1	36.9	--
MONTANA	147,726	80,744	--	228,470	64.7	35.3	--
NEBRASKA	195,540	220,140	--	415,590	47.0	53.0	--
NEVADA	55,053	27,275	--	82,328	66.9	33.1	--
NEW HAMPSHIRE	81,263	115,370	871	197,504	41.2	58.4	0.4
NEW JERSEY	938,603	944,349	23,497	1,906,449	49.2	49.6	1.2
NEW MEXICO	124,924	72,922	--	197,846	63.1	36.9	--
NEW YORK	2,763,883	2,686,008	73,025	5,552,916	50.0	48.7	1.3
NORTH CAROLINA	431,205	177,651	--	608,856	70.8	29.2	--
NORTH DAKOTA	99,562	97,862	--	197,424	50.4	49.6	--
OHIO	1,581,014	1,529,569	--	3,110,583	50.8	49.2	--
OKLAHOMA	369,271	159,168	1,336	529,775	69.7	30.0	0.3
OREGON	338,859	256,706	--	595,565	56.9	43.1	--
PENNSYLVANIA	2,019,994	1,940,666	551	3,961,211	51.0	49.0	--
RHODE ISLAND	215,047	125,523	188	340,758	63.1	36.9	--
SOUTH CAROLINA	76,632	--	--	76,632	100.0	--	--
SOUTH DAKOTA	132,693	125,296	--	257,989	51.4	48.6	--
TENNESSEE	276,870	93,859	1,076	370,805	74.5	25.2	0.3
TEXAS	673,765	86,810	8,266	768,841	87.6	11.3	1.1
UTAH	140,948	145,375	--	286,323	49.2	50.8	--
VERMONT	63,131	59,536	--	122,667	51.5	48.5	--
VIRGINIA	318,433	86,211	26,618	431,262	73.8	20.0	6.2
WASHINGTON	406,195	467,678	2,953	876,826	46.4	53.3	0.3
WEST VIRGINIA	380,983	234,699	--	615,682	61.9	38.1	--
WISCONSIN	633,152	547,873	75	1,181,100	53.6	46.4	--
WYOMING	51,886	59,894	--	111,780	46.4	53.6	--
TOTAL	25,773,910	19,722,906	180,686	45,677,502	56.4	43.2	0.4

SOURCE: ASSOCIATED PRESS

LABOR INVESTIGATION

COMMITTEE -- Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Fields.

ACTION -- Chairman John L. McClellan (D Ark.) Dec. 28 outlined the Committee's plans for 1959. McClellan previously had said the Committee, scheduled to go out of existence Jan. 31, 1959, would seek a one-year extension of its mandate. McClellan said if the extension was granted the Committee would investigate alleged plots by gangsters and dishonest union officials to extort money from private businesses. He said the first series of hearings in 1959 would investigate charges that gangsters had connived with officials of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and possibly other labor unions to take over the juke box and vending machine industries. Later hearings, he said, would deal with allegations that members of the old Murder Inc. mob in Brooklyn, N.Y., had infiltrated the garment industry. (1958 Weekly Report p. 1542)

RELATED DEVELOPMENTS -- Dec. 23 -- The Associated Press said the Federal Bureau of Investigation was investigating alleged political spending by the Teamsters Union in violation of Federal laws prohibiting use of union dues directly in political campaigns. Reports said a grand jury would be convened sometime in January 1959 to consider charging the Teamsters with violating the Corrupt Practices Act.

Dec. 27 -- Sen. Pat McNamara (D Mich.), who resigned from the Select Committee April 15, 1958, said the Select Committee was an "extra-legal police force" that had "long since served its useful purpose." McNamara said: "I don't think the Committee's 1958 hearings have added anything substantially new to what had already been revealed in 1957. And I doubt very much whether hearings in 1959 will be any more productive."

Dec. 30 -- The Justice Department said it was considering using the Sherman Antitrust Act to prosecute gangsters involved in business or labor union activities. The Department said the Sherman Act would apply to such persons if it could be shown their activities involved restraints of trade banned by the law.

George Bender, chairman of the Teamsters Union Anti-Racketeering Commission, announced he was giving \$15,000 of the \$19,250 he had received in fees from the union to charities. He said the remaining \$4,250 had been set aside to pay his taxes on the fees. Bender issued a mimeographed list detailing contributions ranging from \$500 to \$1,500 to 22 different charities, totalling \$15,000. Bender said at the time he took the Teamster job he had announced he would give his fees to charity but there had since been "graceless insinuations that I never intended to give away this money."

FEDERAL ASSETS

COMMITTEE -- House Government Operations.

ACTION -- Dec. 29 released a committee print stating that the real and personal assets of the United States Government totaled \$262,062,000,000 on June 30, 1958. The total was compiled from reports by the Treasury Department and other Government agencies and in most

cases reflected current market values of property. The report, entitled "Federal Real and Personal Property Inventory Report," was the fourth on Government assets issued by the Committee since 1955. The earlier annual reports showed Federal property assets at \$250 billion on June 30, 1957, \$235.5 billion on June 30, 1956, and \$208 billion on June 30, 1955.

Among the major findings: Federal real property, including public domain lands, in the continental United States totaled approximately 408.2 million acres at the end of fiscal 1958; in addition, the U.S. Government held about 362 million acres outside the continental U.S. -- a grand total of 770 million acres.

The Government actually was richer than the figures reflected, the Committee said, since many properties had to be figured at values far lower than their actual "market" prices. For example, the Committee said, its inventory did not include the Hope Diamond, recently donated to the Government and worth between \$200,000 and \$2,000,000. Moreover, the White House grounds -- 18 acres -- were listed at \$1,000 although their real value was far higher; the same was true of many other properties: in general, the Committee said, properties donated to the Government or received by condemnation were listed at no value or slight value.

The Committee gave the following breakdown of real and personal property held by the Government as of June 30, 1958:

PERSONAL PROPERTY

Cash: With Treasurer of U.S.	\$ 9,749,000,000
On hand and in banks	951,000,000
Investments other than public debt	3,932,000,000
Accounts and notes receivable	5,866,000,000
Commodities for sale	5,573,000,000
Work in process	2,371,000,000
Materials and supplies	8,318,000,000
Loans receivable	18,484,000,000
Machinery and equipment	10,793,000,000
Other assets	9,371,000,000
Defense Department: equipment, supplies, stock inventories, etc.	119,752,000,000
Corps of Engineers, equipment, etc.	188,000,000
Total Personal Property	\$195,348,000,000

REAL PROPERTY

Defense Department, including Corps of Engineers, civil functions	\$ 30,802,000,000
Other executive departments and agencies	14,855,000,000
Architect of the Capitol	345,000,000
Other, including construction in progress, etc.	6,284,000,000
Public domain acreage, including mineral resources	14,422,000,000
Total Real Property	\$ 66,708,000,000

TOTAL ALL PROPERTY \$262,056,000,000

SMALL BUSINESS PROCUREMENT

COMMITTEE -- Senate Select Small Business.

ACTION -- Dec. 29 released a report on small business participation in Government procurement programs in fiscal 1958. The report said the percentage of prime contract dollars given to small business by the Defense Department had dropped to 17.1 percent in fiscal 1958 from 24.4 percent four years earlier. In fiscal 1957 the percentage was 19.8 percent, the report said. Of particular concern, the report said, was the small percentage (3.7 percent in fiscal 1958) of research and development prime contract dollars given to small business: "This contributes to the continuing decline of small business participation in over-all defense procurement, for unless a company enters the picture during the research and development stage, its chances of obtaining production contracts for the developed items are minimal."

The Committee said it did not fully accept the "Pentagon theory" that small business' declining share in prime contracts resulted from an incapacity to make the kind of military hardware needed by the Defense Department. The Committee said it was "interested in the extent to which procurement procedures, as opposed to military requirements, militate against small business."

Among the Committee's recommendations for increasing small business' share of prime contracts:

(1) The Small Business Act of 1958 (PL 536, 85th Congress) directed the Small Business Administration to help small businesses get Government research and development prime contracts. It also authorized Government procurement agencies to use a new criterion for "set-asides" (the policy of reserving, or setting aside, a proportion of Government contracts exclusively for small business). Before enactment of PL 536, set-asides were permissible only in the interest of "maintaining or mobilizing" the Nation's "full productive capacity" or in the interest of "war or national defense programs." Under PL 536, Congress added the additional criterion of making set-asides in order to insure that a "fair proportion" of Government contracts went to small business. It also authorized set-asides not only on individual contracts but for entire classes of contracts. All these provisions, the committee said, should be implemented immediately, since past experience showed small business' share of prime contracts would have dropped even more rapidly than it had if procurement agencies had not made set-asides.

(2) The SBA "should take greater initiative" in detecting unjustified discrimination against small business by Government procurement agencies.

(3) Where replacement parts were needed for equipment on which a large business was the prime contractor, the Government should attempt to buy the parts directly from small businesses instead of from the prime contractor in situations where the latter ordinarily would himself sublet the contract to small businesses.

(4) In concluding a development contract, the Government should obtain in advance all rights to the item and to design and production information so that it could assign later production of the developed item to small businesses if feasible.

(5) When a contract that would require a great deal of subcontracting was given to a large firm, the latter should be required, in subcontracting, to observe small business rules similar to those imposed on Government procurement agencies.

AGENCY PROBE

COMMITTEE -- House Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

ACTION -- Chairman Oren Harris (D Ark.) Dec. 31 announced the Committee had completed work on a report recommending legislation to prevent improper influence being exerted on members of the Federal regulatory agencies. Harris said the report, based on the work of the Committee's Legislative Oversight Subcommittee, would be filed Jan. 3.

Harris said Committee members had agreed unanimously on the legislative recommendations embodied in the report, but that some members disagreed with other portions of the text and would probably file minority views.

The major recommendation, as outlined by Harris, was for institution of a statutory code of professional ethics for individuals in Government agencies, with criminal prosecution for violations.

He said the report also contained specific recommendations applying to each of the "Big Six" regulatory agencies investigated by the Legislative Oversight Subcommittee in 1958. (1958 Weekly Report p. 1492)

Harris said there wasn't "a single member of the Committee" who wasn't "in full accord" on the need for additional investigations of the type conducted by the Legislative Oversight Subcommittee in 1958. He said the report recommended that future investigations be extended from the regulatory agencies to other Federal agencies like the Foreign Claims Administration, the Weather Bureau, the Public Health Service and the Food and Drug Administration.

REACTOR PROGRAM

COMMITTEE -- Joint Atomic Energy.

ACTION -- Dec. 29 issued a joint committee print outlining comment by 69 industrial atomic experts on August 1958 Joint Committee staff proposals for expanding the civilian reactor program.

The August study suggested that the Atomic Energy Commission, in addition to projects already started, begin work, to be completed by 1968, on 21 new civilian nuclear reactors (9 large size, 4 intermediate size, 3 small size and 5 small experimental). Purpose of the program would be to "achieve and demonstrate" that the U.S. by 1970 and other free world nations by 1968 could produce nuclear-powered electricity at a cost competitive with electricity produced by traditional fuels. The Joint Committee said the entire project would cost about \$875 million (approximately \$125 million annually), assuming the reactors were constructed at a total capacity of one million electrical kilowatts and the cost of construction was \$500 per kilowatt, with an additional \$375 for design and development costs. The August study was endorsed by the Joint Committee chairman, Rep. Carl T. Durham (D N.C.), and by the vice chairman, Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D N.M.).

In its Dec. 29 release, the Joint Committee said almost all the individuals who responded agreed with most of the findings of the August staff study. A number of suggestions were made for increasing the diversity of the types of reactors and for increasing Government aid to private companies that would participate in the work. Only one expert, Hood Worthington of the E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., said the Joint Committee's construction cost estimates were too low: Worthington said they might reach \$800 per kilowatt instead of \$500.



What's Ahead?

Dates are listed as released by sources and are sometimes subject to change.

Committee Hearings

- Jan. 28-Feb. 3 -- INDUSTRIAL RADIOACTIVE WASTE DISPOSAL, Joint Atomic Energy, Special Radiation Subc.

Other Events

- Jan. 5 -- PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, VICE PRESIDENT NIXON AND REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS, bipartisan conference on foreign aid and defense matters.
- Jan. 5, 6 -- JOINT U.S.-CANADIAN COMMITTEE ON TRADE AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, President Eisenhower and cabinet officials meet with heads of Canadian government, Ottawa.
- Jan. 6 -- HOUSE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS.
- Jan. 6 -- LITTLE ROCK INTEGRATION, hearings on 8th Circuit Court of Appeals order ending segregation in Central High School.
- Jan. 7 -- CONGRESS CONVENES.
- Jan. 8-10 -- NATIONAL EDITORIAL ASSN., winter meeting, Arlington Hotel, Hot Springs, Ark.
- Jan. 9 -- PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.
- Jan. 9, 10 -- U.S.-CANADIAN RELATIONS, informal meeting of Congressional delegation and Canadian parliamentarians, Washington.
- Jan. 11-13 -- NATIONAL CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING MANAGERS' ASSN., meeting, Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City.
- Jan. 12-15 -- NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FARMER CO-OPERATIVES, 30th annual meeting, Jung Hotel, New Orleans.
- Jan. 12-15 -- NATIONAL RETAIL MERCHANTS ASSN., 48th annual convention, Hotel Statler, New York, N.Y.
- Jan. 12-23 -- AMERICAN PRESS INSTITUTE, circulation managers seminar, Columbia University, New York City.
- Jan. 14 -- CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD, hearing on major airlines' strike fund agreement, Washington.
- Jan. 14-17 -- AMERICAN NATIONAL CATTLEMEN'S ASSN., national convention, Omaha, Neb.
- Jan. 15-22 -- NATIONAL ASSN. OF HOME BUILDERS, annual convention, Hilton and Palmer House Hotels, Chicago.
- Jan. 18-21 -- NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING EXECUTIVES ASSN., annual meeting, Edgewater Beach Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
- Jan. 22, 23 -- REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, conference on 1960 campaign plans, Des Moines, Iowa.
- Jan. 29, 30 -- PRIVATE TRUCK COUNCIL OF AMERICA INC., 20th annual convention, Sherman Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
- Jan. 30, 31 -- NEWSPAPER PURCHASING AGENTS GROUP, 2nd annual conference, Sheraton Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
- Jan. 30-Feb. 1 -- RESERVE OFFICERS ASSN., national council mid-winter assembly, Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington.
- Feb. 2-13 -- AMERICAN PRESS INSTITUTE, seminar for advertising directors of newspapers under 75,000 circulation, Columbia University, New York City.
- Feb. 15-17 -- INLAND DAILY PRESS ASSN., winter meeting, Drake Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
- Feb. 16 -- AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, winter meeting, San Juan, Puerto Rico.
- Feb. 21-24 -- NATIONAL CANNERS ASSN. AND CANNING MACHINERY AND SUPPLIES ASSN., 52nd annual convention, Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago.
- March 2-4 -- PRESS CONGRESS OF THE WORLD, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- March 10-12 -- PRESIDENT JOSE MARIA LEMUS OF EL SALVADOR, official state visit to U.S.
- April 5-8 -- NATIONAL RETAIL MERCHANTS ASSN., sales promotion division convention, Eden Roc Hotel, Miami Beach.
- April 12-14 -- REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, seventh annual Republican women's conference, Washington, D.C.
- April 12-19 -- AIR FORCE ASSN., World Congress of Flight, Las Vegas, Nev.
- April 17-19 -- NATIONAL COMMITTEE, YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA, conference, Roney Plaza Hotel, Miami Beach.
- April 20-23 -- AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSN., annual convention, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City.
- May 10-15 -- AVIATION WRITERS ASSN., annual convention, Washington, D.C.
- June 5 -- ATLANTIC CONGRESS, London.
- June 10-13 -- NEWSPAPER PERSONNEL RELATIONS ASSN., annual conference, Savoy-Plaza Hotel, New York City.
- June 21-25 -- AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSN., mechanical conference, Morrison Hotel, Chicago.



The Week In Congress

Rule 22 Again The opening of the Senate Jan. 7 will mark the resumption of the battle over Rule 22 -- the filibuster rule. The central issue in the liberal-conservative impasse is whether Senate rules carry over from one Congress to another. Liberals seeking to change the rule have failed twice in their attempts to have adoption of new rules considered. Their success or failure in 1959 rests with the 18 freshman Senators. A Congressional Quarterly poll of the newcomers' views indicates the liberals stand a 50-50 chance of getting a vote on the new rule issue when the session opens. (Page 13)

House Rules

A group of young Members of the House of Representatives has declared war on the Rules Committee. They say the Rules Committee, headed by conservative Howard W. Smith (D Va.), thwarts the will of the majority. The liberals want to gain more representation on the Committee by changing its make-up from eight Democrats and four Republicans to nine Democrats and three Republicans. They also want to revive the 21-day rule, which would enable a legislative committee chairman to take bills away from the Rules Committee if they had been languishing there for at least 21 days. (Page 23)

Dirksen or Cooper?

Insurgent Republican liberals chose Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R Ky.), now on the third lap of a twice-interrupted Senate career, as their candidate for minority leader against Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen (R Ill.). They claimed at least 12 votes for Cooper, but odds seemed to be against their rounding up the additional five or six votes they need to block Dirksen's bid at the Jan. 7 Republican conference. However, the liberals appeared to have a good chance for the No. 2 job, whip, as Dirksen said he had "no objection" to their choice for the job, Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel (R Calif.). (Page 21-22)

Things to Come

By all indications, a bruising battle between the Republican Administration and the Democratic Congress is in the works for 1959. The President has already set the stage for an anticipated "Battle of the Budget" by announcing that he will send a balanced budget of \$77 billion to Congress. Defense spending, in particular, is likely to be an issue in the budget fight. Among the other issues: military manpower policies, development of space programs, immigration law revisions, passport policy, hospital and health grants, housing policy, highways, atomic power, labor laws, civil rights. (Page 25-32)

The New Congress

A more than casual glance at the personnel of the 86th Congress which meets Jan. 7 reveals that the recent Democratic landslide changed little more than party labels. Mr. Lawmaker, 1959 style, is about the same age as his recent predecessors; the chances are better than 50-50 that he'll be a lawyer, just as in other Congresses; and it's a good bet that he'll be a veteran. A Congressional Quarterly survey shows that the average Member of the 86th Congress will be 52.7 years old -- about a year younger than his counterpart of a year ago. (Page 7)

Congress Gets Ready

When the new 86th Congress convenes at noon Jan. 7, it will formally elect and install its officers in a traditional public ritual. But before this formal parliamentary organization can take place, the results of the required elections will be predetermined in closed-door sessions of each party in both chambers. These party councils, called caucuses, decide who will lead the Democrats and the Republicans in each body. CQ explains what goes on behind the scenes in preparation for the formal organization of the House and the Senate. (Page 1)

Committees on Committees

To be an effective legislator, Congressional old timers say, a Member of Congress needs a good committee assignment. That's why the Members of the 86th Congress, particularly the freshmen, are watching their respective parties' committees on committees -- the groups that hand out the legislative committee assignments -- closely. In this issue, CQ describes the rules and traditions that prescribe how committee posts are allotted. (Page 12)